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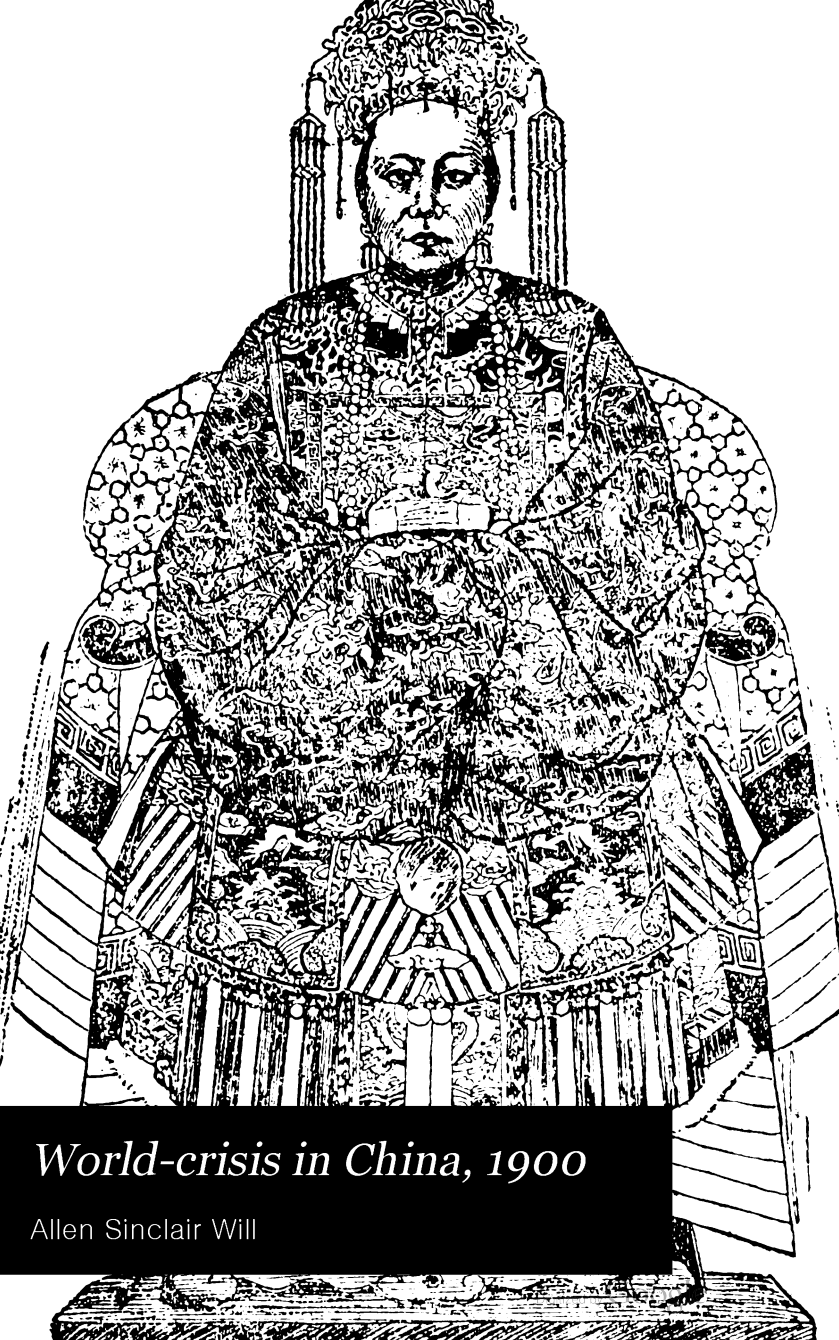

World-crisis in China, 1900

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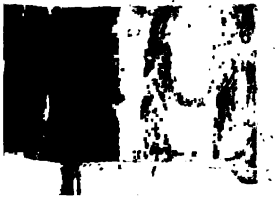

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WORLD-CRISIS IN CHINA, 1900.

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A short account of the outbreak of the War with the "Boxers," and ensuing foreign complications, including also a sketch of events leading up to the distracted situation in the Chinese Empire in the closing year of the century.

BY

ALLEN S. WILL,

OF THE BALTIMORE SUN.

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PREFACE.

"What is the news from China?" is the question that everybody is asking. The newspapers are full of dispatches telling the story of a startling succession of events that seem destined to shake the world. Even the presidential campaign, now in progress, occupies a subordinate place in the estimation of the American public, whose interest is fixed on the extraordinary possibilities of the situation in the Flowery Kingdom.

"But what does it all mean?" asks the reader again. Here he cannot so readily find an answer. The newspapers faithfully tell the story of the developments in the situation as it rapidly unfolds itself, but the reader seeks something more than that. He wants to know how the present crisis was produced; what tremendous forces are at work in this task of gripping by the throat a nation of 400,000,000; what are the possibilities and probabilities of the immediate future; how far and for what reason the United States has been drawn into the vortex. In brief, he wants up-to-date information which will bring him in touch with the situation as it now exists. He seeks a special key to the events of the remote and immediate past which will give him a foundation for comprehending clearly and in their full significance the successive stages in the crisis as they are presented to him day by day.

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Such being the case, no apology is needed for even the humblest endeavor to fill this want. The book is offered as a suppplement to the older histories of China, many of them admirable and thorough works but not approaching sufficiently close to the present. It aims to bring the recent changes and upheavals easily within the comprehension of those who may care to read it. An effort has been made to show what the political, social, educational and religious system of China is and how it has come in contact with the civilization of the western world; important epochs in the history of the empire itself, particularly those bearing on the present situation, are also described. Especial attention has been bestowed on the points of contact between China and the United States. In the hope that the book may play some part, however modest, as a clue to the coming century in China, which seems destined to be the most critical period in all her long history, it is herewith presented.

ALLEN S. WILL.

BALTIMORE, *July* 26, 1900.

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World-Crisis in China, 1900.

CHAPTER I.

Causes of the Crisis of 1900.

FOR China it has been but a step from the seclusion of a hermit kingdom, ages old, to the centre of the world's stage of diplomacy. Until the present century was well on its way, she had no regular official relations with any foreign country and wanted none. She was content to work out her own destiny in her own fashion. China was to be for the Chinese, and the rest of the world was to be as its peoples chose to make it.

But what a marvellous change is presented to-day! Every chancellory in Europe has one of its star diplomats accredited to Pekin. The ambitious dreams of the world's great military and naval powers centre around the land of the Mongols. Fleets and armies are ready to meet in the clash of battle for the possession of the ancient empire's soil, and wait but the word to begin. Mutual jealousy

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has alone prevented an actual parcelling out of the country among aliens in race and religion. This element of restraint may reach the stage of insufficiency at any moment, and then—who can prophesy the result? A world-war greater than any in modern times is the imminent and awful possibility that looms up.

And why, asks the reader, this sudden rush of the nations toward China? What is the prize that threatens to involve them in mutual slaughter on a tremendous scale? The answer is found in the vast riches of the empire developed by the toil of its people through centuries. The land is enormously fertile, and is blessed with a climate that makes it a bee-hive of the world's production. It supports 400,000,000 people and can support more. Its teas, its rice, its silks, its cotton, its bamboo—these and a thousand other sources of wealth tempt the cupidity of the world. To control this trade is regarded as the international prize of the century. And to drill and arm those vast yellow hordes and turn them in the service of another power to conquer the world or at least to defy it—is the project not one to dazzle men trained to look at things through the spectacles of modern diplomacy?

The humanitarian will probably argue that the Chinese have a right to their own country; that their trade, if exploited at all by foreigners, should be exploited under the laws and authority of the Chinese government itself; that the customs and

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prejudices of the people should be respected as far as possible and that whatever the foreign governments seek to accomplish within the realm should be striven for with the weapons of peace and justice, not with those of war and deceit.

But modern diplomacy works by its own processes. To paraphrase a much-quoted saying, the decalogue has no place in diplomacy—or very little place, at any rate. While the individual's standard of morals in these days is that of Christian civilization, the code of the world's diplomats is still that of the stone age. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is the stern rule of Mosaic justice. But the powers of Europe have sought to take from China a city for an eye and a province for a tooth.

Trade and territory—these are the shibboleths of our modern chancellories. Land is wanted but riches are wanted more. This never-satisfied grasp for trade is a natural result of overcrowded populations and it is leading to some astonishing results. In ancient times it was the glory of conquest that tempted the Alexanders and Cæsars. Now it is the spoil of war that lures them on. The knight does the work of the merchant—not the merchant that of the knight.

China has her faults and many of them—what nation has not? And a bitter penalty, it appears, she must pay. If events move in the same procession in the next few years as in the last few

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the partition of Poland is to be repeated in the ancient empire on the eastern shores of Asia.

And now to the immediate causes which have led up to the crisis of 1900. It has been the Chinaman's greatest misfortune that he does not like foreigners. His natural and deep-rooted aversion to them, born of 4500 years of seclusion in his own land, has not been reduced by the effects of the foreign influx as he has seen them. The character of the foreigners who have gone to China, has not, in many cases, been such as to convey a normally good impression of the great world beyond. The sailor class, with its vices, has thronged the seaports to bear away the wealth of Cathay. Holders of foreign concessions have often been arbitrary, overbearing and avaricious. The motives and methods of the Christian nations as illustrated by their diplomatic intercourse with Pekin, have often been at variance with the sublime precepts of the Bible which missionaries have preached as the supreme law. All this has tended to confirm the Chinaman in his previous opinion that foreigners are at best but "foreign devils." He has veered to extremes in his hatred of them and their works.

But this feeling against foreigners did not reach uncontrollable limits until, following the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894–95, Russia, under the guise of a lease, acquired possession of the enormously strong fortress of Port Arthur, and the splendid seaport of Talienwan. Russia also acquired railway franchises

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in Manchuria, the great northern province of China, from which the ruling dynasty of the empire comes. It was but a slight stretch for Russia to string her columns of troops all over Manchuria, and lap them over into the neighboring province of Mongolia, taking virtual possession of important strategic positions everywhere she went. Thus all of Northern China, a region reaching from the Siberian border almost to Pekin, was practically acquired by Russia with no more foundation of title than a lease of two ports and a few railway concessions.

England, anxious to keep pace with her colossal rival, followed in kind. Port Arthur and Talienwan are on the northern side of the Gulf of Pechili, which is the sea gateway to Pekin. England demanded and secured the fortress of Wei Hai Wei, on the southern side of the gulf, and which, when a large fleet is stationed there, commands the gulf's entrance. Imagine a semicircle with its open side to the east. This may be taken to represent the Gulf of Pechili. Equidistant from its two ends, and at its western extremity, is Taku, the entrance to the Peiho river, leading to Pekin, 120 miles from the mouth of the river. On the northern segment of the semicircle are Port Arthur and Talienwan, and on the southern segment is Wei Hai Wei. Besides seizing Wei Hai Wei, England secured an extension of her territory at Hong Kong. The city of Hong Kong is on an island, and the extension obtained was on the mainland adjacent, in

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the district of Kowlun. The foreign settlements at Shanghai, controlled by Americans, British and French, were also extended.

Germany was not slow to take the cue. For the murder of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung, which stretches south from the shore of the Gulf of Pechili, Emperor William demanded possession of the seaport and fortress of Kiaochau, on the eastern border of Shantung, and of preferential rights for Germans in the whole province. This was soon in a fair way of being made equivalent to absolute German authority in Shantung.

France, which claims a sphere of influence in Southern China, extending north from Tonkin to the British sphere in the valley of the Yangtzekiang, advanced her posts northward and demanded and received new concessions for railways and canals.

Italy demanded a lease of San Mun Bay on the eastern coast of the empire south of Kiaochau. Here, for once China showed backbone. She felt that she could afford to deny Italy's demand and she did so. Italy has not withdrawn the claim but has taken no positive steps to enforce it.

China and the Chinese were alarmed at these extraordinary developments—all within the space of four years, from 1895 to 1899. It came to be accepted as a fact among them that the foreign powers were bent upon a partition of China and that this partition was an early and sudden probability. They looked back upon the work of

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centuries in despair that it seemed about to be undone. Their despair quickly turned to rage, and the flame of anti-foreign feeling was fanned to white heat.

It was the native converts to Christianity who first felt the scorch of this flame. This may seem strange at first but a brief analysis of the situation as it existed will show that it was a natural direction for the anti-foreign feeling to take. The pagan Chinamen regarded the native converts as traitors and renegades to their cause who were more to be despised than the active and avowed missionaries themselves. Then, too, there was a fear of attacking the missionaries directly, for this would arouse the wrath of the foreign powers and afford the very pretext which was so eagerly sought—a pretext to divide China. So long as only native Christians were murdered, the Pekin government could hold that it was purely an internal affair, and that it could deal in its own way with the murder of its own subjects by fellow subjects. The seizure of Kiaochau by Germany as indemnity for the murder of two missionaries served in marked degree to inflame the Chinese against the Christian proselyters. They regarded the loss of one of their richest provinces as directly due to these missionaries of an alien religion. It is in Shantung that the present outbreak has attained its most acute development.

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Then, too, the Chinese present other grievances against the missionaries—grievances which are declared by the missionaries themselves to be largely without foundation. They allege that the missionaries, through the representatives of their countries at Pekin, secure undue political advantages for the converted Chinamen over the unconverted. For instance, it is charged that native Christians have made a practice of complaining to the missionaries that their taxes were too high; that the missionaries have in many cases, through the ministers at Pekin, obtained a lowering of these taxes, to the injustice of the pagan Chinaman, who has thus been compelled to bear an unjust share of the government's burdens. It is alleged that many native converts to Christianity have been actuated by no more worthy motive than the securing of lower taxes and other official favors. The missionaries have also been charged with arrogance and greed. To assume that the whole body of devoted servants of the Christian mission cause has been guilty of these faults would be a gross calumny. It would be equally absurd to assume that isolated instances of this character have not occurred. The Chinaman has been too prone to ignore the virtues of the many and magnify the sins of the few. And thus he has come, in some sections of China, to regard all missionaries with distrust.

A number of popular errors regarding missionaries have gained wide credence. For instance,

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there is a belief among Chinese that the missionaries cut out the eyes of young children for use in their rites and in medicine. Thus the orphanages attached to the missions have been the victims of deep and unjustified distrust.

Still another grievance against the foreigners was the manner of introducing railroads. It was charged that these lines were surveyed and in some cases actually constructed through cemeteries over the graves of Chinamen's ancestors. In the eyes of the Chinese there could be no greater outrage than this. Ancestor-worship is one of the primary elements of their religion, and to have the bones of their forefathers thus defiled was more than they could stand. It was also charged that the right-of-way for these roads was acquired by summary and unjust methods, which worked great hardship on hundreds of natives.

We have thus sketched in brief the leading causes which prepared China for an anti-foreign upheaval of vast proportions. The form which this upheaval took constituted a crime against humanity and was totally without excuse. It has tended to alienate from the Chinese all the sympathy which some of their admitted wrongs had created in their favor. We will consider this subject in our next chapter.

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CHAPTER II.

Story of the Crisis in Detail.

IN the spring of 1900 one of the numerous anti-foreign societies that had sprung up in China began to commit acts of atrocity on a wide scale. This is the society of "Boxers," as they are popularly called. The name of the organization is I-ho-chu-an, meaning League of United Patriots. The last word of this title is pronounced in some parts of China the same as the Chinese word for fists, though the characters denoting it are different. Hence it is easy by a slight pun to translate the title as "League of United Fists." One of the mottoes of the society may be translated as "patriotism, righteousness, fists,"—an idea corresponding to the English one of militant patriotism in a good cause. Besides, one of the rules of the society enjoins the practice of athletic sports, including boxing, by its members. Hence it is not difficult to account for the popular term "Boxers," now exclusively applied to this society by English-speaking people.

A number of other secret organizations have made common cause with the Boxers, notably the Society of the Great Knife, which has wide influence in China. The one name, however, is now used to denote all who are engaged in the outbreak.

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The Boxers are a secret and oath-bound organization. Their avowed object is the extermination of the foreigners who they believe are about to despoil and divide the land of their ancestors. Their operations began in October, 1899, when they began openly drilling in the streets of the principal cities of North China, and committed occasional acts of lawlessness against native Christians. These disorders were considered local at first and the secret character of the Boxers' organization prevented a thorough and prompt comprehension of the grave character of their movement. Secret societies are common in China and are usually within the control of the Pekin government, provided it is disposed to act vigorously.

The Boxers continued to receive large accessions to their ranks, and in the early spring of 1900 they had grown to an estimated numerical strength of 3,000,000. Emboldened by the popularity of their cause, they began to commit acts of bloody lawlessness on a large scale. A reign of terror was inaugurated at every city, town and village in North China where the missionaries were established. Hundreds of native Christians were massacred, often with appalling tortures. Missionary property was burned and the missionaries were compelled to flee to the coast cities, where they sought protection under the formidable guns of foreign warships. The local Chinese troops appeared unable or unwilling to check the outrages. They were in active sympathy with the Boxers in many cases, and deserted

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by wholesale to the ranks of the outlaws, carrying with them their rifles and their ideas of foreign military drill learned from Russian, German and Japanese instructors. These accessions made the Boxers vastly more powerful. At first they had been insufficiently armed, many being provided only with steel pikes, axes, or sharpened poles of bamboo. Now they began to get rifles, and quickly learned how to use them. From a rabble they became an army. The taste of blood made them mad for more. No mercy was shown, and the native Christians, the principal objects of their wrath, fled in droves to escape the awful storm.

The Boxers adhered in a general way to the policy of confining their operations to the native Christians. A number of foreign missionaries were reported murdered, but the fact of murder has been confirmed in the cases of but two—Rev. H. V. Norman and Rev. C. Robertson, both English. Many of the missionaries were in great danger, but their hasty exodus to the coast cities saved the great majority of them.

As previously intimated, the form which the anti-foreign outbreak took was wholly to be condemned. The horrible murders perpetrated by the boxers caused the world to shudder. It was a war of private vengeance on private individuals, for which not even the shadow of excuse could be found. The Chinese were correct in supposing that the powers of Europe contemplated the division and exploitation of their country. The official

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acts of the powers proved this beyond all doubt. The proper course would have been for China to arm and prepare to defend herself against the aggressions of Europe—to maintain the integrity of China, if necessary, by a defensive war waged by the government and army, acting within the rules of humane warfare as far as any warfare can be humane. For a secret society, a band of private individuals, to appropriate and administer the vengeance which belonged to the government, if to anybody, was going at the problem not only in a wrong way, but an atrocious way.

Repeated appeals were made by the foreign ministers at Pekin to the Tsung-li-yamen (Chinese foreign office), but no effective steps to stop the outrages were taken. It began to appear that if the Christians were to be protected and the uprising suppressed, the foreign governments themselves would have to act. On May 19 Bishop Favier, head of the Roman Catholic Missionaries in China, wrote as follows to M. Pechon, French minister at Pekin:

"*Mr. Minister:* From day to day the situation becomes more serious and threatening. In the prefecture of Poating more than seventy Christians have been massacred; near Echao-Icheou only three days ago three neophytes have been cut in pieces. Many villages have been pillaged and burned; a great many others have been completely abandoned. More than two thousand Christians are fleeing, without bread, without clothing, without shelter. At Pekin alone about four hundred refugees, men, women and children, are already

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lodged at our house and that of the Sisters; within a week we will probably have many thousands. We will have to dismiss the schools and the colleges; also use all the hospitals to make room for these unfortunate persons. Upon the east of us pillage and incendiarism are imminent; we are hourly receiving the most alarming news. Pekin is surrounded on all sides. The Boxers are daily coming nearer the capital, delayed only by the destruction which they are making of Christians. Believe me, I pray you, Mr. Minister, that I am well informed and say nothing lightly. Religious persecution is only one object. The real purpose is the extermination of Europeans, a purpose which is clearly set forth and written upon the banners of the Boxers. Their associates await them at Pekin, where they will begin by attacking the churches and finish with the legations. For us here at the Paitang the day is practically ended. All the city knows it; everybody is speaking of it, and a popular outbreak is manifest. Yesterday evening 43 poor women and their children, flying from the massacre, arrived at the house of the Sisters. More than five hundred persons accompanied them, saying to them that if they had escaped this once they would soon die with the others. Mr. Minister, I do not speak to you of placards without number which are posted in the city against Europeans in general. Each day new ones appear, more explicit than the others. Those who 30 years ago were present at the Tientsin massacre are struck with the resemblance of the situation then to that of to-day—the same placards, the same threats, the same warnings and the same blindness. Under these circumstances, Mr. Minister, I believe it my duty to ask you to kindly send us at least forty or fifty marines to protect our persons and our property. This has been done under circumstances much less critical, and I hope you will take into consideration our humble prayer."

About the same time Rev. Charles A. Killie, an American missionary in Pekin, wrote a letter to

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Hon. Edwin H. Conger, the United States minister, setting forth in detail the recent operations of the Boxers and giving a list of villages near the capital in which the organization was flourishing. An appeal was made for immediate action.

These reminders and the critical seriousness of the situation as observed by the ministers themselves led to a meeting of the diplomatic body at Pekin on May 20. The meeting drew up the following note, which was sent to the Tsung-li-yamen:

"*The Prince and Ministers:* I have the honor to communicate to you the text of a resolution prepared by the representatives of the foreign powers accredited to Pekin. The diplomatic body, relying upon the Imperial decrees already published which have ordered the dissolution of the Boxers, demands:

"First—The arrest of all persons practising the drills of that association, provoking disturbances upon the public highway, posting, printing or distributing placards which may contain threats against foreigners.

"Second—The arrest of owners or guardians of temples or other places where the Boxers assemble and the treatment of these accomplices and criminal abettors as Boxers themselves.

"Third—The chastisement of the public officials who may render themselves culpable by neglecting to suppress any disorder, or who may connive with the rioters.

"Fourth—The execution of the authors of outrages against persons or property.

"Fifth—The execution of persons who are supporting and directing the Boxers in the present disturbances.

"Sixth—The publication in Pekin, in Pechili and the other northern provinces of proclamations bringing these measures to the knowledge of the people.

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"I am, besides, charged by the diplomatic corps to inform you that it expects a satisfactory reply to this demand without unnecessary delay.

"I improve the occasion to reiterate the assurance of my highest consideration."

The note was signed by B. Cologan, the Spanish minister, as dean of the diplomatic corps.

The attitude of the Tsung-li-yamen, in response to this demand, was far from satisfactory to the ministers. It was clearly set forth in the following letter from Minister Conger to Secretary Hay under date of May 21:

"*Sir:* In response to the request of the French Minister the dean called a meeting of the diplomatic corps yesterday, and, upon information furnished in a letter from the Catholic bishop in Pekin and verbal reports by the other Ministers, the situation was considered so grave that the corps unanimously instructed the dean to present it to the Chinese Foreign Office and demand immediate and effective measures. The note was presented today. I also enclose copies of the bishop's letter and one from Rev. Mr. Killie, an American missionary who lives in Pekin, but travels a circuit to the north and east. On the 18th instant in the course of an extended personal interview with the Chinese Foreign Office, I called its attention to the fact that, notwithstanding constant warnings from this and other legations, the Boxers had continually increased and spread, until now they are boldly organizing inside the wall of Pekin. The existence of thousands is known in the villages around Pekin. Christian converts are being persecuted and threatened everywhere. Many are forced to recant their religious professions, and some have been compelled to abandon their chapels and come to Pekin for safety.

"I said: 'At a London mission near Chochau, 40 miles west of Pekin, two native Christians have been killed and

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their chapels destroyed. Near Paoting a Catholic village has been destroyed and 61 Christians murdered, some of them being burned alive. The foreign governments cannot longer sit idly by and witness this persecution and murder. I can only speak for my own Government, but it is becoming very impatient over China's continued treaty violation. It always has been and still is the good friend of China and only wishes it prosperity, but is now more than ever determined to sustain the treaty rights of all American citizens and of the Christian converts. It will hold the Chinese Government to the strictest responsibility for every treaty infraction in this regard. It will do this not only for the benefit of its own citizens, but in the interest of China herself, whose Government is now sadly threatened by these lawless organizations. At present it is true they seem to have no capable leader, but should one arise and the populace become really inflamed the overthrow of the present dynasty is most likely to follow and possibly the destruction of the Empire.'

"They assured me that sufficient troops had been sent to the disturbed districts to restore order and afford protection.

"I again told them that restored order would be the only possible proof. I also said that unless the situation was relieved and the threatening danger from mobs averted I should be compelled to ask for a sufficient guard of American marines to insure the safety of the legation.

"They said: 'Oh, don't do that. It is unnecessary.' And again promising energetic action, the interview closed.

"Unless some energetic action is taken the situation will become fraught with great danger to all foreigners, not from any intelligent or organized attacks, but from ignorant and inflamed mob violence. I believe, as I said in my telegram, that the Government is itself alarmed at the situation and will take more energetic action, but no one can be certain of this until it is done."

The diplomatic body at Pekin began to hold almost daily meetings and repeatedly represented to

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the Tsung-li-yamen the inadequacy of the measures which were being taken. It was also forcibly represented that as the disorders were spreading to Pekin itself, the ministers were beginning to fear for the safety of the legations, and proposed to send for marine guards from the foreign warships at Taku for protection. The Tsung-li-yamen protested that there was no necessity to send for marines, and declared that it would not consent to the landing of any foreign troops in China.

On May 30 the ministers sent an ultimatum to the Tsung-li-yamen demanding that the marines be allowed to land, and threatening that if consent were longer refused they would urge their governments to land men by force. The yamen was given until 6 A. M., on the following day, to reply. A midnight session was held at the palace, and at 2.30 A. M., May 31, the ministers were notified that the Chinese government consented to the landing of marines.

Prompt notice was sent to the foreign fleet gathered at Taku, which by this time numbered twenty-three vessels, including nine Russian, three British, three German, three French, two American, two Italian and one Japanese. The American ships were the cruiser Newark, with Rear-Admiral Kempff on board, and the gunboat Monocacy. On the day when the Chinese government yielded to the ultimatum of the ministers, marines landed from these ships and proceeded to Tientsin, going

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thence by rail to the Chinese capital. From Taku to Tientsin the journey is 40 miles up the shallow Peiho river, and from Tientsin there is a railway, 78 miles long, leading to Pekin. The marines went in launches from Taku to Tientsin and made the rest of the trip by rail.

Thus was the first step taken in active foreign interference with the outbreak of the boxers in China. It soon led to results of the gravest character, as we shall presently see. The marines who landed and proceeded to Pekin were destined to share in the long isolation of the capital and the terrible straits of the legations. They were constituted as follows:

Americans—Seven officers and 56 men.
British—Three officers and 72 men.
Italians—Three officers and 39 men.
French—Three officers and 72 men.
Russians—Four officers and 71 men.
Japanese—Two officers and 24 men.
The foreign contingent also took five quick-firing guns.

On June 1, Minister Conger reported to the State Department that the arrival of the marines had improved the situation in Pekin. The capital, he said, was much quieter but the Boxers were still active in the surrounding country. This state of affairs was not to continue.

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News of the marines' arrival soon spread and the masses of the Chinese were inflamed with rage. Here was another instance of foreign interference, and of their own government being compelled to yield to the threats of the "foreign devils." The Boxers' ranks grew rapidly, their rage knew no bounds. "Action" was their cry. They began to close in on Pekin and Tientsin in large numbers and prepared to cut the railway leading from Tientsin to the capital. This railway they regarded as the key to the situation. They saw the massing at Taku of the foreign warships, which were constantly increasing in numbers, and they believed this was for the purpose of landing a large foreign army and moving on their capital, their sacred city. To the minds of their leaders the most effective way to save the capital was to cut the railway, which afforded the easiest way for gaining access to it.

At first the railway was cut in a few places, but the line as a whole was not then seized. The Boxers were not yet ready to take effective possession of it. Though the breaks in the line were repaired, the commanders of the warships saw a new element of danger in the situation, and sent 2,000 additional marines to Tientsin.

The Chinese government was now thoroughly alarmed, and with vigor undertook the task of repressing the boxers. In this lay its only hope, but the hope was doomed to disappointment. The Imperial troops at Pekin attacked a large force of

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Boxers who had congregated near the capital. Hundreds were killed on both sides, but the Boxers, inspired with the zeal of fanatics, were victorious. The Chinese government's infusion of vigor had come too late. It could not depend on the loyalty of its own troops. An edict was issued censuring the "cowardice" of the Imperial army, and ordering the viceroy of Pechili to suppress the Boxers, but these measures came too late.

Interruptions of the Tientsin-Pekin railway continued, and by June 6 the line was wholly blocked. Boxers were in possession of it for its entire length. Hereafter we shall speak of the Boxers as "Chinese," for by June 6 so many of the Imperial troops, including prominent generals, had deserted to them that it was difficult to say which was the army and who were rebels. Immense quantities of ammunition, rifles, quick-firing guns and cannon had been secured, and it was a well equipped army which was holding the railway to Pekin.

The commanders of the foreign fleets at Taku were alarmed, and decided to take prompt steps to reopen the railway. Of the 2000 marines at Tientsin, 1078 were made into a composite force, and Vice Admiral Sir George Edward Seymour, of the British navy, who was then the senior officer in rank with the foreign squadron, took command. On June 10 he marched from Tientsin, on the way to Pekin, to reopen the railway and disperse the Chinese. His efforts were doomed to failure. The

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foreign commanders had not yet realized the tremendous nature of the task before them.

Of Seymour's force, 100 were Americans, commanded by Capt. Bowman H. McCalla, of the cruiser Newark. British and Russians were largely in the majority. The force was increased to 2500 men soon after it left Tientsin, reinforcements being hurried forward.

The admiral had advanced 30 miles June 11, when he encountered a force of Chinese and killed 35 of them. The Chinese, though dispersed temporarily, began to mass in great numbers in front of Seymour. On June 12 he was able to advance only three miles, his front, rear and flanks being constantly threatened. Two attacks were made on his advance guard June 13 by Chinese, who again met a reverse. On June 14 there was another determined attack, the Chinese losing over 100 killed and the allies again being successful, their loss being five killed. The rear guard of the allies at Lofa station was compelled to face an onslaught, and, in fact, June 14 was marked by almost constant fighting. The allies managed to reach Anting, 12 miles from Pekin, but when they got there they were so terribly hard-pressed, the railway in their front had been so extensively destroyed and their rear was so imminently threatened, that further advance was considered practically impossible.

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On June 16 Seymour decided to retrace his steps. His force was in a critical position. For six days his supplies had been cut off and he was hampered by his wounded. Almost every mile of his return was marked by fighting. The Chinese, when defeated in one village, retired to the next, where they would undertake another stand. Seymour made a night march June 23 and reached the Chinese arsenal, three miles from Tientsin, where a heavy fire was opened on him. He stormed and seized the arsenal and then sent to Tientsin for help. Another body of marines went to his rescue and on June 26 he was at last back at his starting place, having accomplished nothing. His losses during the sixteen days were 62 killed and 206 wounded. The Americans in his party had 4 killed and 25 wounded.

Meanwhile events at Tientsin had moved in startling fashion; Chinese surrounded the city in great numbers and began a bombardment with heavy artillery. The consulates of the United States and other nations were destroyed and there was considerable loss of life. The few marines left in Tientsin June 10, when Seymour started on his ill-fated expedition, were inadequate to defend the foreign quarter of the city. So another relief expedition was determined upon by the foreign commanders at Taku. This expedition was made up of 130 American marines under command of Major Littleton W. T. Waller and 400 Russians.

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In an ambuscade near Tientsin, June 21, four of Waller's men were killed and seven wounded. An additional force of 2000 marines had been landed by the allies in the meantime and, forming a junction with the Americans and Russians, pushed on to Tientsin, which they occupied June 23, cutting their way through the investing force of Chinese. A brief respite in the Chinese attack gave an opportunity for relieving Seymour, which was accomplished in the manner already narrated.

Taku itself had developed another surprise in the situation. The commanders of the allied fleets held a meeting June 16 and decided that it was necessary to take temporary possession of the mud forts there. Notice was served on Lo Jung Kuang, the commandant of the forts, and on the viceroy at Tientsin, the supreme civil officer in the province in which Taku is situated. It was also decided to take charge of the station at Tongku, near Taku, belonging to the Chinese government railway. Rear Admiral Kempff, the American commander, declined to take part in any of these proposed hostile acts against China, saying that he was "not authorized to initiate any act of war against a country with whom the United States government is at peace." Nevertheless the allies decided to go ahead without him. The railway station at Tongku was promptly seized, and early in the morning of June 17 a fight began between the allies and the Chinese in the Taku forts. For some hours the bombardment was

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brisk, and then a landing party stormed the forts and captured them. The American vessels held aloof, but a stray shot from a Chinese fort struck the Monocacy, inflicting slight damage. The losses of the allies in the fight were 20 killed and 90 wounded. The Chinese left about 200 dead in the forts, though no effort was made to count the bodies exactly.

Each side accuses the other of having fired the first shot at Taku. In response to the demand for the surrender of the forts, the Chinese say, their commander was bound to give all the resistance in his power. With Taku in their possession, the allies found the problem of operating against Tien-tsin and Pekin simplified. The Taku forts had been the only defense of the mouth of the Peiho river.

Pekin, the ultimate objective of all the movements by the allies, had been plunged into awful straits. The city was isolated June 14, and has remained so up to the present time (July 26). All the railroads and telegraph lines were seized by large forces of Chinese. It was maintained by the Tsung-li-yamen that the arrival of the foreign marines, May 31, greatly incensed the populace. The marines were accused of acts of indiscretion, such as patrolling streets where there was no need for it and firing their rifles indiscriminately. The Boxers were soon in virtual possession of nearly all Pekin. The powerful Prince Tuan, father of the

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heir apparent to the Chinese throne, openly espoused their cause and became their leader. The summer quarters of the British legation, fourteen miles from the capital, were burned. The Chancellor of the Japanese legation, Sugiyama Akira, was killed by a mob in the streets of Pekin. But the crowning atrocity was the murder, on June 18, of Baron Von Ketteler, German ambassador to China, who was killed by a mob as he was mounting his horse to call on the Tsung-li-yamen. The baron was formerly first secretary of the German legation at Washington, and married Miss Maud Ledyard, of Detroit, Mich., daughter of H. B. Ledyard, president of the Michigan Central Railroad. At the same time the baron was killed his interpreter was wounded, but saved himself by running into the German legation.

Emperor William decided to act at once, taking immediate steps for the dispatch of a large fleet and 20,000 soldiers to China. In a public speech at Kiel he declared that he would not rest until he had vengeance on China for the German blood that had been spilt, and until the German flag floated from the walls of Pekin side by side with the flags of the other powers.

In the absence of direct communication wild rumors continued to come from Pekin as to the state of affairs there. One of these was to the effect that the whole city reeked with slaughter and that every foreigner there had been killed. Others stated

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that the legations were surrounded by Prince Tuan's boxers and that all foreigners had taken refuge in the British embassy, the strongest of the foreign buildings for purposes of defense. Artillery was trained on these legations and it was stated that they were subjected to more or less bombardment. As Pekin is still isolated at this writing, it is impossible to confirm these rumors.

Besides the wild and often contradictory rumors from Pekin, a few dispatches from foreign diplomatic officials there have filtered through. Captain Charles M. Thomas, commander of the cruiser Brooklyn, transmitted to the United States navy department a letter from United States Minister Conger dated July 4 and sent to Tientsin. This letter was as follows:

"Been besieged two weeks British legation. Grave danger general massacre by Chinese soldiers, who are shelling legation daily. Relief soon, if at all. City without government except by Chinese army. Determined to massacre all foreigners in Pekin. Entry relief forces into city will be hotly contested."

Another message from Minister Conger, the authenticity of which is believed by Secretary Hay but doubted by diplomats in Europe was received later. It said:

"In British legation. Under continued shot and shell fire from Chinese troops. Quick relief only can prevent general massacre."

This message was not dated, but the Chinese authorities through whom it was received said it

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was sent from Pekin July 18. It was in the cipher of the Washington state department, as was the dispatch to which it was supposed to be a reply. The exchange of messages came about in this way: Despite the fact that Pekin had been practically isolated since June 14, the Chinese diplomatic representatives at Washington and European capitals continued to receive through runners what purported to be edicts from the emperor and other official communications from Pekin. If this could be done, Secretary Hay argued, why could not the Chinese government get through a message from Minister Conger. So a dispatch in cipher was sent to Mr. Conger through Wu Ting Fang, Chinese minister at Washington, and the one just quoted, signed by Mr. Conger, was received a few days later in reply. The chief reason for the credence given by Secretary Hay to the reply was that it was an answer in code to a code dispatch. In European capitals the intimation was thrown out that the Chinese government had sent an old message from Mr. Conger which it had previously intercepted.

Sir Claude MacDonald, British minister at Pekin, sent a letter dated July 4, which was received by the British consul at Tientsin and forwarded to London. It stated that the diplomats were assembled in the British legation, where there was then food enough to last a fortnight, but the garrison was unequal to the task of holding out against a determined attack for that length of time. There

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had been 44 deaths and about double that number of wounded in the legation. An appeal was made for relief.

Sir Robert Hart, an Englishman who is the director of Chinese maritime customs, sent the following message from Pekin July 5, which was received by his wife in London :

"Our people, including the women, are in the legations, Prepare to hear the worst."

In addition to these, the Chinese diplomatic representatives in this and European countries have made public what purports to be an imperial edict issued from Pekin July 18 giving the assurance that all the ministers at that capital, except Baron Von Ketteler, were safe on that day.

An important cablegram from Li Kui Yi, viceroy of Nankin and one of the great officials of the Chinese government, was sent to Minister Wu Ting Fang. It was dated at Nankin July 21 and said :

"According to edict of 22d of this moon [July 18], with the exception of the German Minister who was killed by anarchists, with regard to which rigorous measures are being taken to investigate and punish the guilty parties, all the other Ministers, for whom strenuous efforts are being made for their protection, are fortunately unharmed."

It has become plainly evident that whatever be their fate, the foreigners have not been without influential friends in Pekin. Among the chief of

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these was Prince Ching, who until recently was president of the Tsung-li-yamen, from which position he was deposed by Prince Tuan as not being sufficiently anti-foreign in his purposes. Prince Ching rallied the Chinese troops who remained faithful and undertook the task of provisioning and defending the foreigners shut up in the British legation. With what success his efforts have met the future must tell.

The isolation of Pekin and the threatening situation at Tientsin had opened the eyes of the powers as to the formidable task before them. It was seen that the Chinese were no longer the mediæval soldiers who had faced Japan in the war of 1894. They had learned, to some extent, at least, the art of war as practiced by the hated "foreign devils" and, more than all else, had obtained large supplies of modern arms and munitions. Their cannon were served by men who knew how to aim and shoot and they had become trained to the use of the rapid-fire guns of the Maxim and Hotchkiss types. All the powers interested prepared to rush troops and ships to China. A fleet of 45 war vessels soon assembled on the coast within reach of Taku and transports laden with troops began to arrive.

The United States Government, at first averse to landing any armed force on Chinese soil, was stirred to energetic action by the peril of the Americans in Pekin and Tientsin. We have already seen how the cruiser Newark and the gunboat Monocacy,

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under command of Rear-Admiral Kempff, were at first the only American naval representatives at Taku. To these were added successively the gunboats Helena, Princeton, Yorktown, Marietta and Nashville, the armored cruiser Brooklyn and several colliers and supply ships. The monitor Monterey, the cruiser Don Juan de Austria and the gunboat Castine were maintained at Chinese ports within call of Taku. The battle-ship Oregon was ordered from Hong Kong to Taku but grounded 50 miles north of Chefu and had to be sent to Japan for repairs. Rear-Admiral George C. Remey, commander of the United States naval forces on the Asiatic station, went from Manila on the Brooklyn and took command of the American fleet at Taku, superseding Rear-Admiral Kempff.

Besides these warships the United States has about 7000 troops either in China or on the way. The first regiment dispatched was the Ninth Infantry, which went from Manila to Chefu, sailing June 27 and landing July 8. The Fourth, Fourteenth and Twentieth regiments of infantry were ordered from the Philippines to China later and the Sixth Cavalry left San Francisco for the same destination. On June 26 Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, who had won fame as an Indian fighter and also at Santiago, was appointed to the command of the United States military forces in China. He sailed from San Francisco July 1 and arrived at Nagasaki, Japan, July 24 on his way to Taku. Preparations

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were also made to send 4000 marines, making 11000 men altogether for land operations.

There was soon plenty of work for the Ninth Infantry, the first American regiment on the scene. Landing at Chefu, it proceeded as soon as possible to the scene of trouble at Tientsin. That city had been intermittently bombarded ever since the rescue of Admiral Seymour's ill-starred force, June 26. Tientsin is divided into two parts—the native city, containing about a million inhabitants, and the foreign city, or settlement, separated from the native section and containing about fifteen hundred inhabitants. In the foreign city the consulates and other pretentious buildings are situated. The Chinese constructed intrenchments from which they bombarded the foreigners and also harassed them with rifle fire. By July 1, there were 15,000 foreign troops in Tientsin and the investing force of Chinese was estimated at from 50,000 to 75,000. Hot fighting occurred July 3 and 4. A Russian company of infantry was nearly wiped out, losing 115 out of 120 men engaged. The British and Germans also lost heavily. When the Ninth Infantry arrived its services were badly needed. The foreign troops had all they could do to hold their own and the Chinese were receiving constant accessions.

Bloody fighting was of daily occurrence until July 13, by which time considerable reinforcements were on the scene and the allies felt bold enough to undertake aggressive measures.

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A PORTION OF THE FOREIGN SETTLEMENT AT TIENTSIN, PARTLY DESTROYED IN THE RECENT FIGHTING.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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They left a force strong enough to defend the foreign city and made a counter move by attacking the native city. On July 13 the foreign storming party moved to the attack. At first the troops met a severe check, the Chinese pouring upon them a deadly fire from machine guns, rifles and cannon. But the next day the attack was pressed home and the native city fell into the hands of the allies who, however, had paid a terrible price for their success. Their total killed and wounded numbered nearly 1000 men, including 23 Americans killed and 99 wounded. Col. Emerson H. Liscum, commander of the Ninth Infantry, was among the killed. The heaviest loss among the allies was sustained by the Russians and Japanese. It is estimated that 3000 Chinese were killed in the battle. Sixty-two of their cannon were captured. The Chinese retreated to a point nearer Pekin.

The complete possession of Tientsin was a marked success for the allies, as it gave them a base from which to move on Pekin. They realized, however, that to advance on the capital would require about 100,000 men, or at least 75,000, and there is at this writing a temporary halt at Tientsin until a force of sufficient size can be collected. The European powers realized that the long delay which must ensue before they could send large forces to the scene would perhaps prevent the moving of the relief expedition until too late to be of help to the foreigners in Pekin. They, therefore, at the initiative of Eng-

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land, authorized Japan, as being nearest the scene of action, to send a large force of troops, Japan agreeing not to use these troops to gain territorial advantage for herself. She is preparing to send 60,000 men, who will raise the combined force of the allies up to about 100,000.

Thus, as we leave the actual developments of the crisis at the scene of its principal violence, we find Pekin isolated and the foreigners there subjected to an awful ordeal, which may end, or has ended, in the slaughter of large numbers of them. The allies are in possession of Taku and Tientsin, halting their troops at the latter place to await reinforcements for the march on Pekin to rescue the foreigners. Practically all the missionaries have fled to the coast cities, where they are receiving protection. The Boxers are confining their operations to north China, the southern provinces not having openly broken into rebellion. And the thousands of native Christians who have given up the religion of their fathers for that of the man of Nazareth—who can tell?

A digression was caused by conflicts between the Chinese and the Russians in Manchuria and upon the Siberian frontier. The Chinese attacked Blagovestchensk, on the north or Russian bank of the Amur river, which separates Manchuria from Siberia. They also fell upon some of the Russian garrisons in Manchuria. The Russians drove the Chinese out of Blagovestchensk, and attacked them

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at several towns in Manchuria, adopting a vigorous military policy which left no doubt that the Czar did not intend to lose a single point of vantage from the operations of the Boxers. The St. Petersburg government proclaimed a state of siege all along the immense stretch of Russo-Chinese frontier, and called out troops in great numbers.

The policy of the United States in the present crisis has been clearly laid down by President McKinley and Secretary Hay. Minister Conger and the military and naval commanders were directed to proceed with energy in the protection of American lives and property, but were warned not to be a party to any alliance or combination of powers. The United States was willing for its land and sea forces to act concurrently with those of the European powers in steps for the urgent relief of the Americans and other foreigners at Pekin, but was not to be bound by any compact.

A circular note to the powers was drawn up by Secretary Hay June 30, and after its approval by President McKinley, was communicated through the medium of the United States ambassadors and mininisters to the governments for whom it was destined. It was as follows:

"In this critical posture of affairs in China it is deemed appropriate to define the attitude of the United States as far as present circumstances permit this to be done. We adhere to the policy initiated by us in 1857, of peace with the Chinese nation, of furtherance of lawful commerce and of protection

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of lives and property of our citizens by all means guaranteed under extraterritorial treaty rights and by the law of nations. If wrong be done to our citizens we propose to hold the responsible authors to the uttermost accountability. We regard the condition at Pekin as one of virtual anarchy, whereby power and responsibility are practically devolved upon the local provincial authorities. So long as they are not in overt collusion with rebellion and use their power to protect foreign life and property we regard them as representing the Chinese people, with whom we seek to remain in peace and friendship. The purpose of the President is, as it has been heretofore, to act concurrently with the other powers, first, in opening up communication with Pekin and rescuing the American officials, missionaries and other Americans who are in danger; secondly, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and property; thirdly, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests, and fourthly, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to the other provinces of the Empire and a recurrence of such disasters. It is, of course, too early to forecast the means of attaining this last result, but the policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire. You will communicate the purport of this instruction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs."

All the powers have signified their assent to the American policy as thus laid down. So for the moment the spectacle is presented of unity for maintaining the integrity of the Chinese empire, but this situation may change at any time, for Russia, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan all seek a share in the division of the empire if it takes

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place. They are content for the present to see that no one of them gains any advantage over the others, realizing that seizure of Chinese territory for purposes of permanent occupation probably involves a world-war of appalling magnitude. Only a spark is required to start this war, and the peoples of the world may well pray that it be averted.

The position of the Chinese government in regard to the grave events of the last few months was set forth in an imperial decree promulgated under date of June 29. This was presented to the powers by the Chinese Ambassadors. It was as follows:

"The circumstances which led to the commencement of fighting between Chinese and foreigners were of such a complex, confusing and unfortunate character as to be entirely unexpected. Our diplomatic representatives abroad, owing to their distance from the scene of action, have had no means of knowing the true state of things and accordingly cannot lay the views of the government before the ministers for foreign affairs of the respective powers to which they are accredited. Now we take this opportunity of going fully into the matter for the information of our representatives aforesaid.

"In the first place there arose in the provinces of Pechili and Shantung a kind of rebellious subjects who had been in the habit of practising boxing and fencing in their respective villages and at the same time clothing their doings with spiritualistic and strange rites. The local authorities failed to take due notice of them at the time. Accordingly the infection spread with astonishing rapidity. Within the space of a month it seemed to make its appearance everywhere and finally even reached the capital itself. Everyone looked upon the movement as supernatural and strange and many

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joined it. Then there were lawless and treacherous persons who sounded the cry of 'down with Christianity.'

"These persons began to create disturbances without warning. Churches were burnt and converts were killed. The whose city was in a ferment. A situation was created which could not be brought under control. At first the foreign powers requested that foreign troops be allowed to enter the capital for the protection of the legations. The Imperial Government, having in view the comparative urgency of the occasion, granted the request as an extraordinary mark of courtesy beyond the requirements of international intercourse.

"Over 500 foreign troops were sent to Pekin. This shows clearly how much care China exercises in the maintenance of friendly relations with other countries. The legations at the capital never had much to do with the people. But from the time foreign troops entered the city the guards did not devote themselves exclusively to the protection of their respective legations. They sometimes fired their guns on top of the city walls and sometimes patrolled the streets everywhere. There were repeated reports of persons being hit by stray bullets. They strolled about the city without restraint, and even attempted to enter the Tung Hua gate (the eastern gate of the palace grounds). They only desisted when admittance was positively forbidden.

"On this account both the soldiers and the people were provoked to resentment and voiced their indignation with one accord. Lawless persons then took advantage of the situation to do mischief and became bolder than ever in burning and killing Christian converts. The powers thereupon attempted to reinforce the foreign troops in Pekin, but the reinforcements encountered resistance and defeat at the hands of the insurgents on the way, and have not yet been able to proceed. The insurgents of the two provinces of Pechili and Shantung had by this time effected a complete union and could not be separated.

"The Imperial Government was by no means reluctant to issue orders for the entire suppression of this insurgent ele-

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ment. But as the trouble was so near at hand, there was a great fear that due protection might not be assured to the legations if the anarchists should be driven to extremities, thus bringing on a national calamity. There also was a fear that uprisings might occur in the provinces of Pechili and Shantung at the same time, with the result that both foreign missionaries and Chinese converts in the two provinces might fall victims to popular fury. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to consider the matter from every point of view.

"As a measure of precaution it was finally decided to request the foreign ministers to retire temporarily to Tientsin for safety. It was while the discussion of this proposition was in progress that the German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, was assassinated by a riotous mob one morning while on his way to the Tsung li Yamen. On the previous day the German Minister had written a letter appointing a time for calling at the Tsung li Yamen. But the office fearing he might be molested on the way did not consent to the appointment as suggested by the Minister.

"Since this occurrence the anarchists assumed a more bold and threatening attitude and consequently it was not deemed wise to carry out the project of sending the diplomatic corps to Tientsin under an escort. However, orders were issued to the troops detailed for the protection of the legations to keep stricter watch and take greater precaution against any emergency. To our surprise, on June 16, foreign naval officers at Taku called upon Lo Jung Kuang, the general commanding, and demanded his surrender of the forts, notifying him that failing to receive compliance they would at 2 o'clock the next day take steps to seize the forts by force. Lo Jung Kuang being bound by the duties of his office to hold the forts, how could he yield to the demand?

"On the day named they actually first fired upon the forts, which responded and kept up a fighting all day and then surrendered. Thus the conflict of forces began, but certainly the initiative did not come from our side. Even supposing that China were not conscious of her true condition how could

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she take such a step as to engage in war with all the powers simultaneously, and how could she, relying upon the support of an anarchistic populace, go into war with the powers? Our position in this emergency ought to be clearly understood by all the powers. The above is a statement of the wrongs we have suffered and how China was driven to the unfortunate position from which she could not escape.

"Our several Ministers will make known accurately and in detail the contents of this decree and the policy of China to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in their respective countries, and assure them that military authorities are still strictly enjoined to afford protection to the legations as hitherto to the utmost of their power. As for the anarchists, they will be severely dealt with as circumstances permit. The several Ministers will continue in the discharge of the duties of their office as hitherto without hesitation or doubt."

The Chinese ministers to Washington and several European capitals have appealed in the name of the emperor for mediation to end the crisis. The emperor's letter to President McKinley on this subject was as follows:

"*The Emperor of China to his Excellency the President of the United States*:—China has long maintained friendly relations with the United States and is deeply conscious that the object of the United States is international commerce. Neither country entertains the least suspicion or distrust toward the other. Recent outbreaks of mutual antipathy between the people and Christian missions caused the foreign powers to view with suspicion the position of the Imperial Government as favorable to the people and prejudicial to the missions, with the result that the Taku forts were attacked and captured. Consequently there has been clashing of forces with calamitous consequences. The situation has become more and more serious and critical.

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"We have just received a telegraphic memorial from our Envoy Wu Ting Fang, and it is highly gratifying to us to learn that the United States Government, having in view the friendly relations between the two countries, has taken a deep interest in the present situation. Now China, driven by the irresistible course of events, has unfortunately incurred well-nigh universal indignation. For settling the present difficulty China places special reliance in the United States. We address this message to your Excellency in all sincerity and candidness, with the hope that your Excellency will devise measures and take the initiative in bringing about a concert of the powers for the restoration of order and peace. The favor of a kind reply is earnestly requested and awaited with the greatest anxiety.

"Kuang Hsu, 26th year, 6th moon, 23d day."

[July 19, 1900.]

President McKinley made the following answer to the emperor:

"I have received your Majesty's message of the 19th of July and am glad to know that your Majesty recognizes the fact that the Government and people of the United States desire of China nothing but what is just and equitable. The purpose for which we landed troops in China was the rescue of our legation from grave danger and the protection of the lives and property of Americans who were sojourning in China in the enjoyment of rights guaranteed them by treaty and by international law. The same purposes are publicly declared by all the powers which have landed military forces in your Majesty's Empire.

"I am to infer from your Majesty's letter that the malefactors who have disturbed the peace of China, who have murdered the Minister of Germany and a member of the Japanese legation, and who now hold besieged in Pekin those foreign diplomatists who still survive, have not only not received any favor or encouragement from your Majesty, but are actually in rebellion against the imperial authority. If this be the case I most solemnly urge upon your Majesty's Government to give public

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assurance whether the foreign Ministers are alive, and, if so, in what condition; to put the diplomatic representatives of the powers in immediate and free communication with their respective governments and to remove all danger to their lives and liberty; to place the imperial authorities of China in communication with the relief expedition so that co-operation may be secured between them for the liberation of the legations, the protection of foreigners and the restoration of order.

"If these objects are accomplished it is the belief of this Government that no obstacles will be found to exist on the part of the powers to an amicable settlement of all the questions arising out of the recent troubles, and the friendly good offices of this Government will, with the assent of the other powers, be cheerfully placed at your Majesty's disposition for that purpose.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

As a further outcome of the crisis, the United States Government appointed Mr. W. W. Rockhill, director of the Bureau of American Republics, to go to China, in the capacity of special commissioner from this country to investigate the situation.

Thus at the present date (July 26) the machinery of diplomacy as well as war is fully in motion. The development to which all are looking forward is the relief of Pekin. The Chinese government itself may raise the city's isolation by asserting itself over the lawless elements and restoring free communication. This would be far better for the peace of the world than waiting for the allies to force their way, which they evidently intend to do if necessary.

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CHAPTER III.

Interests of the United States in China.

THE interests of the United States in China, aside from the protection of our citizens—a duty incumbent in all countries—must be calculated exclusively in dollars and cents. We have no territorial rights there, except for a faint approach to them in the form of a share in the foreign settlement at Shanghai. Some persons, looking at the question on what are called "broad grounds," regard the acquisition of the Philippines by the treaty of Paris as a step looking ultimately more to advantages in China than in the Philippines themselves. This act made the American flag a near neighbor of China. From Manila to Hong Kong and Shanghai is a voyage of but a few days, and the great city which is the capital of the Philippines may in that sense be regarded as a "stepping stone to China."

Even omitting the Philippines from consideration the United States is a nearer neighbor of China than any European power except Russia, whose possessions touch every inch of her long northern boundary. The breadth of the Pacific, it is true, is a considerable separation between the house of one neighbor and that of another. But the voyage

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from Seattle or San Francisco to China is made in a little over two weeks by an almost direct route, while, except for Russia, Europe must resort to the long and tortuous passage by way of the Mediterranean sea and the Suez canal, and then double half way around Asia to reach the stopping place. The effect of this comparative nearness to China has been to put it in America's power to gain a preponderance of the empire's trade. Herein lies the importance to this country of the "open door," which we will consider further on.

In the more exalted relation of international comity the United States has played a part in China which reflects distinguished credit. Up to this time, at least, this country has pursued a consistent policy of fairness, justice and disinterestedness toward the much-persecuted empire. She has been the friend who had no axes to grind, who would not be drawn into bullying China out of the inherent rights of the people to the country which has been the land of their ancestors from the remote past. Li Hung Chang, the greatest of China's statesmen, has often said that the United States, alone of the world's great powers, was to be trusted by China as an honorable friend, not seeking to disturb her independence or integrity and concerned in the rights of trade only in a legitimate way. Within the last month Li Hung Chang has expressed this same sentiment. When the war between China and Japan broke out in 1894, the

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United States offered friendly mediation and strove to avert the conflict without interfering in any way with the rights of either combatant. During the continuance of that struggle the United States minister and consuls in Japan represented China's interests and those in China, performed a like service for Japan.

We now come to consider more in detail the interests of the United States in China from the dollar and cent point of view. In recent years imports of American goods into China have gained more rapidly than those of any other country. We bid fair in this respect to outstrip the world. The oft-quoted doctrine that "trade follows the flag" here receives a rude blow. Without owning a foot of territory in China, and with no further concession than the "open door" to our commerce we may draw the prize of Chinese trade for which Europe has been so eagerly grasping.

At this time the precedence of the countries trading with China, in their respective shares of her commerce, is as follows: (1) England and her colonies, (2) Japan, (3) The United States, (4) Russia, (5) Germany, (6) France, (7) Belgium, (8) Austria, (9) Switzerland. Nearly all the American trade is carried on under the flags of other nations which build and own ocean-carrying ships more extensively. The latest United States consular reports show the value of trade with China by the countries of the world in 1899, to have been as follows:

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Country.	Imports.		Exports.		Total.	
	taels.		*taels.*		*taels.*	
United States	22,288,745	$16,059,041	21,685,715	$15,624,558	43,974,460	$31,683,599
Great Britain	40,161,115	28,936,083	13,962,547	10,060,014	54,123,662	38,996,097
Continent of Europe, including all the Russias	13,694,802	9,867,105	55,320,492	39,858,414	69,015,294	49,725,519
Japan, excluding Formosa	31,414,362	22,634,048	16,384,271	11,804,867	47,798,633	34,438,915
Hong Kong (shared by all the leading nations, but chiefly Great Britain)	118,096,208	85,088,318	71,845,558	51,764,725	189,941,766	136,853,043
Formosa	4,482,383	3,229,557	666,873	480,482	5,149,256	3,710,039
India	31,911,214	22,992,030	1,731,498	1,247,544	33,642,712	24,239,574
All the rest of the world	11,767,236	8,478,293	13,951,872	10,052,323	25,719,108	18,530,616

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In four years the United States has doubled its sales to China and Great Britain's fell off about $3,000,000. Last year the cotton goods trade represented more than half the entire exports of this country to China, which bought more than half our total sales of cotton cloths to the world. These are striking figures and show what the trade of that empire means to the United States. This trade is much more important even than statistics show. Consul Fowler, the energetic representative of the United States at Chefoo, holds to the opinion that American commerce with China is underestimated by at least one-third.

The recent subjection of North China to Russian influence has been of vast commercial benefit to the United States. Russia cannot produce the manufactured articles which she needs for the development of that immense territory and she buys almost exclusively from the United States. Her great Siberian railroad and its branches are being constructed of American material and the traffic over the completed parts of it is done by American locomotives and cars.

The leading articles of American export to China are cotton goods and petroleum; the leading staples which China sends to us are tea and silk. She also sends great quantities of hemp, hides, leather, mattings, oils and feathers. Four-fifths of the principal manufactured articles of this country are represented in the trade to China.

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Before passing to the subject of the "open door" let us consider an incident in our national career which tends to tie our hands, in a moral sense, in any effort to force Americans or American innovations on China. This is the Chinese exclusion law enacted by the United States Congress and having the practical effect of shutting out from this country all Chinese immigrants. Its justification, of course, is found in the right of the American people to protect themselves from race admixture and also in the fact that repeated outbreaks of lawlessness directed against Chinese immigrants occurred on the Pacific coast previous to the passage of the law. In these outbreaks we have a parallel to the Boxer agitation, from which they differed not in principle, but in degree only. And if we assume the right to protect ourselves from the influx of another race, surely the Chinese can claim the same right. The question may be asked if any country in the Western world would submit to a wave of Chinese aggression involving the overthrow of the Christian religion and the political domination of the Orientals. We do not have to stretch the imagination far to conjure up bloody wars that would result in a decisive overthrow of the aliens. Indeed, a parallel can be found in the strenuous resistance of Europe to the Moorish tide in the Middle Ages.

The following recent table shows the number of foreigners and foreign business firms in China as registered at the consulates of the 33 treaty ports :

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Nationality.	Residents.				Firms.			
	1898.	1899.	Decrease.	Increase.	1898.	1899.	Decrease.	Increase.
American	2,056	2,335	.....	279	43	70	....	27
British	5,148	5,562	.....	414	398	401	.....	3
German	1,043	1,134	.....	91	107	115	.....	8
French	920	1,183	.....	263	37	76	.....	39
Dutch	87	106	.....	19	8	9	.....	1
Danish	107	178	.....	11	3	4	.....	1
Spanish	395	448	.....	53	4	9	.....	5
Swedish and Norwegian	200	244	.....	44	.....	2	.....	2
Russian	165	1,621	.....	1,456	16	19	.....	3
Austrian	92	90	2	.....	5	5	.....	.....
Belgian	169	234	.....	65	9	9	.....	.....
Italian	141	124	17	.....	9	9	.....	.....
Japanese	1,694	2,440	.....	746	114	195	.....	81
Portuguese	1,084	1,423	.....	339	20	10	10	.....
Korean	40	42	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Non-treaty powers	27	29	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	13,421	17,193	.....	3,772	773	933	.....	160

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We now come to a consideration of the "open door." Whatever may be the exact meaning of the promises made on this subject, the negotiations were of the first importance to this country and to the world. They represent the present extent of American material interest in China—trade alone—and show the view of the Washington government as to the steps to be taken to preserve it. Apparently the United States, though opposed to a partition of China, realizes that it may come at some day and, while not wanting to acquire territorial rights there, insists that each nation which does so shall grant the following requests:

First. That it will in no way interfere with any treaty port or vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all ports which are within such "sphere of interest" (unless they be free ports), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated

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within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The governments addressed were those of Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. The United States officially takes the view that their replies agreed to the three propositions laid down, and apparently it will insist that they shall be carried out. Some have declared that the replies of Great Britain and Russia, while cordial in tone, do not amount to a binding promise, and that those governments may one day construe the phraseology to suit themselves.

The correspondence extended from September 6, 1899, to March 20, 1900, the last date marking the completion of the undertaking.

On September 6, the State Department addressed to the United States Ambassadors at London, Berlin and St. Petersburg, copies of a formal declaration setting out the desires of this Government in reference to the "open door." Italy and Japan were similarly addressed about a month later. While the "formal declaration" sent to the Ambassadors was similar in each case, and requested agreement by the respective governments to the three propositions laid down, yet, each of the Ambassadors adopted a different phraseology in addressing himself to the Government to which he was accredited.

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The full text of the correspondence, as far as it has been officially made public, is here appended and the reader can judge for himself the meaning of the reply sent by each nation:

GREAT BRITAIN.

Ambassador Choate to Lord Salisbury.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, September 22, 1899.

MY LORD: I am instructed by the Secretary of State to present to your lordship a matter which the President regards as of great and equal importance to Great Britain and the United States—in the maintenance of trade and commerce in the East, in which the interest of the two nations differs, not in character, but in degree only—and to ask for action on the part of Her Majesty's Government which the President conceives to be in exact accord with its uniformly declared policy and traditions, and which will greatly promote the welfare of commerce.

He understands it to be the settled policy and purpose of Great Britain not to use any privileges which may be granted to it in China as a means of excluding any commercial rivals, and that freedom of trade for it in that Empire means freedom of trade for all the world alike. Her Majesty's Government, while conceding by formal agreements with Germany and Russia the possession of "spheres of influence or interest" in China, in which they are to enjoy especial rights and privileges, particularly in respect to railroads and mining enterprises, has at the same time sought to maintain what is commonly called the "open-door" policy, to secure to the commerce and navigation of all nations equality of treatment within such "spheres." The maintenance of this policy is alike urgently demanded by the commercial communities of

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our two nations, as it is justly held by them to be the only one which will improve existing conditions, enable them to maintain their positions in the markets of China, and extend their future operations.

While the Government of the United States will in no way commit itself to any recognition of the exclusive rights of any power within or control over any portion of the Chinese Empire, under such agreements as have been recently made, it can not conceal its apprehensions that there is danger of complications arising between the treaty powers which may imperil the rights insured to the United States by its treaties with China.

It is the sincere desire of my Government that the interests of its citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controling powers within their respective "spheres of interests" in China, and it hopes to retain there an open market for all the world's commerce, remove dangerous sources of international irritation, and thereby hasten united action of the powers at Pekin to promote administrative reforms so greatly needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China, in which it believes the whole Western World is alike concerned. It believes that such a result may be greatly aided and advanced by declarations by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" in China as to their intentions in regard to the treatment of foreign trade and commerce therein, and that the present is a very favorable moment for informing Her Majesty's Government of the desire of the United States to have it make on its own part and to lend its powerful support in the effort to obtain from each of the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" in China a declaration substantially to the following effect:

(1) That it will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

(2) That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports

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as are within such "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duty so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

(3) That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The President has strong reason to believe that the Governments of both Russia and Germany will coöperate in such an understanding as is here proposed. The recent ukase of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Talienwan open to the merchant ships of all nations during the whole term of the lease under which it is to be held by Russia removes all uncertainty as to the liberal and conciliatory policy of that power and justifies the expectation that His Majesty would accede to the similar request of the United States now being presented to him and make the desired declaration.

The recent action of Germany in declaring the port of Kiaochau a "free port," and the aid which its Government has given China in establishing there a Chinese custom-house, coupled with oral assurances given the United States by Germany that the interests of the United States and its citizens within its "sphere" would in no wise be affected by its occupation of this portion of the province of Shantung, encourage the belief that little opposition is to be anticipated to the President's request for a similar declaration from that power.

It is needless, also, to add that Japan, the power next most largely interested in the trade of China, must be in entire sympathy with the views here expressed, and that its interests will be largely served by the proposed arrangement; and the declarations of its statesmen within the last year are so entirely in line with it that the coöperation of that power is confidently relied upon.

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It is, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I present this matter to your lordship's attention and urge its prompt consideration by Her Majesty's Government, believing that the action is in entire harmony with its consistent theory and purpose, and that it will greatly redound to the benefit and advantage of all commercial nations alike. The prompt and sympathetic coöperation of Her Majesty's Government with the United States in this important matter will be very potent in promoting its adoption by all the powers concerned.

I have, etc.,

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

Lord Salisbury to Ambassador Choate.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
London, September 29, 1899.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have read with great interest the communication which you handed to me on the 22d instant, in which you inform me of the desire of the United States Government to obtain from the various powers claiming spheres of interest in China declarations as to their intentions in regard to the treatment of foreign trade and commerce therein.

I have the honor to inform your excellency that I will lose no time in consulting my colleagues in regard to a declaration by Her Majesty's Government and on the proposal that they should co-operate with the Government of the United States in obtaining similar declarations by the other powers concerned.

In the meantime, I may assure your excellency that the policy consistently advocated by this country is one of securing equal opportunity for the subjects and citizens of all nations in regard to commercial enterprise in China, and from this policy Her Majesty's Government have no intention or desire to depart.

I have, etc.,

SALISBURY.

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Lord Salisbury to Ambassador Choate.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
London, November 30, 1899.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: With reference to my note of September 29 last, I have the honor to state that I have carefully considered, in communication with my colleagues, the proposal contained in your excellency's note of September 22 that a declaration should be made by foreign powers claiming "spheres of interest" in China as to their intentions in regard to the treatment of foreign trade and interest therein.

I have much pleasure in informing your excellency that Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to make a declaration in the sense desired by your Government in regard to the leased territory of Wei Hai Wei and all territory in China which may hereafter be acquired by Great Britain by lease or otherwise, and all spheres of interest now held or that may hereafter be held by her in China, provided that a similar declaration is made by other powers concerned.

I have, etc.,

SALISBURY.

Ambassador Choate to Lord Salisbury.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES,
London, December 6, 1899.

MY LORD: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's note of November 30, in which you inform me that, after having carefully considered in connection with your colleagues, the proposals contained in my note of September 22 last, Her Majesty's Government is prepared to make a declaration in the sense desired by my Government in regard to the leased territory of Wei Hai Wei and all territory in China which may hereafter be acquired by Great Britain by lease or otherwise, and all "spheres of interest" now held or which

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may hereafter be held by her in China, provided that a similar declaration is made by other powers.

In acknowledging your lordship's note, I have also, under instructions from the Secretary of State, to express to your lordship the gratification he feels at the cordial acceptance by Her Britannic Majesty's Government of the proposals of the United States.

I have, etc.,

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

RUSSIA.

Secretary Hay to Ambassador Tower.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 6, 1899.

SIR: In 1898, when His Imperial Majesty had, through his diplomatic representative at this capital, notified this Government that Russia had leased from His Imperial Chinese Majesty the ports of Port Arthur, Talienwan, and the adjacent territory in the Liao-tung Peninsula in northeastern China for a period of twenty-five years, your predecessor received categorical assurances from the imperial minister for foreign affairs that American interests in that part of the Chinese Empire would in no way be affected thereby, neither was it the desire of Russia to interfere with the trade of other nations, and that our citizens would continue to enjoy within said leased territory all the rights and privileges guaranteed them under existing treaties with China. Assurances of a similar purport were conveyed to me by the Emperor's ambassador at this capital; while fresh proof of this is afforded by the imperial ukase of $\frac{\text{July 30}}{\text{August 11}}$ last, creating the free port of Dalny, near Talienwan, and establishing free trade for the adjacent territory.

However gratifying and reassuring such assurances may be in regard to the territory actually occupied and administered,

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it can not but be admitted that a further, clearer, and more formal definition of the conditions which are henceforth to hold within the so-called Russian "sphere of interest" in China as regards the commercial rights therein of our citizens is much desired by the business world of the United States, inasmuch as such a declaration would relieve it from the apprehensions which have exercised a disturbing influence during the last four years on its operations in China.

The present moment seems particularly opportune for ascertaining whether His Imperial Russian Majesty would not be disposed to give permanent form to the assurances heretofore given to this Government on this subject.

The ukase of the Emperor of August 11 of this year, declaring the port of Talienwan open to the merchant ships of all nations during the remainder of the lease under which it is held by Russia, removes the slightest uncertainty as to the liberal and conciliatory commercial policy His Majesty proposes carrying out in northeastern China, and would seem to insure us the sympathetic and, it is hoped, favorable consideration of the propositions hereinafter specified.

The principles which this Government is particularly desirous of seeing formally declared by His Imperial Majesty and by all the great powers interested in China, and which will be eminently beneficial to the commercial interests of the whole world, are:

First. The recognition that no power will in any way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any leased territory or within any so-called "sphere of interest" it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere"

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than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The declaration of such principles by His Imperial Majesty would not only be of great benefit to foreign commerce in China, but would powerfully tend to remove dangerous sources of irritation and possible conflict between the various powers; it would reëstablish confidence and security, and would give great additional weight to the concerted representations which the treaty powers may hereafter make to His Imperial Chinese Majesty in the interest of reform in Chinese administration so essential to the consolidation and integrity of that Empire, and which, it is believed, is a fundamental principle of the policy of His Majesty in Asia.

Germany has declared the port of Kiaochau, which she holds in Shantung under a lease from China, a free port and has aided in the establishment there of a branch of the Imperial Chinese maritime customs. The Imperial German minister for foreign affairs has also given assurances that American trade would not in any way be discriminated against or interfered with, as there is no intention to close the leased territory to foreign commerce within the area which Germany claims. These facts lead this Government to believe that the Imperial German Government will lend its coöperation and give its acceptance to the proposition above outlined, and which our ambassador at Berlin is now instructed to submit to it.

That such a declaration will be favorably considered by Great Britain and Japan, the two other powers most interested in the subject, there can be no doubt. The formal and oft-repeated declarations of the British and Japanese Governments in favor of the maintenance throughout China of freedom of trade for the whole world insure us, it is believed, the ready assent of these powers to the declaration desired.

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The acceptance by His Imperial Majesty of these principles must therefore inevitably lead to their recognition by all the other powers interested, and you are instructed to submit them to the Emperor's minister for foreign affairs and urge their immediate consideration.

A copy of this instruction is sent to our ambassadors at London and Berlin for their confidential information, and copies of the instructions sent to them on this subject are inclosed herewith.

I have, etc.

JOHN HAY.

Count Mouravieff, Russian minister of foreign affairs, to Ambassador Tower.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
December 18–30, 1899.

Mr. AMBASSADOR: I had the honor to receive Your Excellency's note dated the 8th–20th of September last, relating to the principles which the Government of the United States would like to see adopted in commercial matters by the powers which have interests in China.

In so far as the territory leased by China to Russia is concerned, the Imperial Government has already demonstrated its firm intention to follow the policy of "the open door" by creating Dalny (Talienwan) a free port; and if at some future time that port, although remaining free itself, should be separated by a customs limit from other portions of the territory in question, the customs duties would be levied, in the zone subject to the tariff, upon all foreign merchandise without distinction as to nationality.

As to the ports now opened or hereafter to be opened to foreign commerce by the Chinese Government, and which lie beyond the territory leased to Russia, the settlement of the question of customs duties belongs to China herself, and the

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Imperial Government has no intention whatever of claiming any privileges for its own subjects to the exclusion of other foreigners. It is to be understood, however, that this assurance of the Imperial Government is given upon condition that a similar declaration shall be made by other powers having interests in China.

With the conviction that this reply is such as to satisfy the inquiry made in the aforementioned note, the Imperial Government is happy to have complied with the wishes of the American Government, especially as it attaches the highest value to anything that may strengthen and consolidate the traditional relations of friendship existing between the two countries.

I beg you to accept, etc.

COUNT MOURAVIEFF.

GERMANY.

Secretary Hay to Ambassador White.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 6, 1899.

SIR: At the time when the Government of the United States was informed by that of Germany that it had leased from His Majesty the Emperor of China the port of Kiaochau and the adjacent territory in the province of Shantung, assurances were given to the ambassador of the United States at Berlin by the Imperial German minister for foreign affairs that the rights and privileges insured by treaties with China to citizens of the United States would not thereby suffer or be in anywise impaired within the area over which Germany had thus obtained control.

More recently, however, the British Government recognized by a formal agreement with Germany the exclusive right of

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the latter country to enjoy in said leased area and the contiguous "sphere of influence or interest" certain privileges, more especially those relating to railroads and mining enterprises; but, as the exact nature and extent of the rights thus recognized have not been clearly defined, it is possible that serious conflicts of interest may at any time arise, not only between British and German subjects within said area, but that the interests of our citizens may also be jeopardized thereby.

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government give formal assurances and lend its coöperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers that each within its respective sphere of whatever influence—

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

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The liberal policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Kiaochau a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in the establishment there of a custom-house are so clearly in line with the proposition which this Government is anxious to see recognized that it entertains the strongest hope that Germany will give its acceptance and hearty support.

The recent ukase of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Talienwan open during the whole of the lease under which it is held from China, to the merchant ships of all nations, coupled with the categorical assurances made to this Government by His Imperial Majesty's representative at his capital at the time, and since repeated to me by the present Russian ambassador, seem to insure the support of the Emperor to the proposed measure. Our ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg has, in consequence, been instructed to submit it to the Russian Government and to request their early consideration of it. A copy of my instruction on the subject to Mr. Tower is herewith inclosed for your confidential information.

The commercial interests of Great Britan and Japan will be so clearly served by the desired declaration of intentions, and the views of the Governments of these countries as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China are so similar to those entertained by the United States, that their acceptance of the propositions herein outlined and their coöperation in advocating their adoption by the other powers can be confidently expected. I inclose herewith copy of the instruction which I have sent to Mr. Choate on the subject.

In view of the present favorable conditions, you are instructed to submit the above considerations to His Imperial German Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, and to request his early consideration of the subject.

Copy of this instruction is sent to our ambassadors at London and at St. Petersburg for their information.

I have, etc., JOHN HAY.

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Mr. Jackson, chargé d'affaires at Berlin, to Secretary Hay.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES,
Berlin, December 4, 1899.

I have just had a conversation with the secretary of state for foreign affairs, who stated that the politics of Germany in the extreme Orient are de facto the politics of the open door, and Germany proposes to maintain this principle in the future. Germany does not wish the question to become the subject of controversy between the different powers engaged in China. She thinks it would be advantageous for the United States Government to confer with other European governments having interests in China. If the other cabinets adhere to the proposal of the United States Government Germany will raise no objection, and Germany is willing to have the Government of the United States inform these other cabinets that no difficulty will come from her if the other cabinets agree.

JACKSON, *Chargé.*

Count von Bülow, German minister of foreign affairs, to Ambassador White.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
Berlin, February 19, 1900.

Mr. AMBASSADOR: Your excellency informed me, in a memorandum presented on the 24th of last month, that the Government of the United States of America had received satisfactory written replies from all the powers to which an inquiry had been addressed similar to that contained in your excellency's note of September 26 last, in regard to the policy of the open door in China. While referring to this your excellency thereupon expressed the wish that the Imperial Government would now also give its answer in writing.

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Gladly complying with this wish I have the honor to inform your excellency, repeating the statements already made verbally, as follows: As recognized by the Government of the United States of America, according to your excellency's note referred to above, the Imperial Government has from the beginning not only asserted but also practically carried out to the fullest extent in its Chinese possessions absolute equality of treatment of all nations with regard to trade, navigation, and commerce. The Imperial Government entertains no thought of departing in the future from this principle, which at once excludes any prejudicial or disadvantageous commercial treatment of the citizens of the United States of America, so long as it is not forced to do so, on account of consideration of reciprocity, by a divergence from it by other governments. If, therefore, the other powers interested in the industrial development of the Chinese Empire are willing to recognize the same principles, this can only be desired by the Imperial Government, which in this case upon being requested will gladly be ready to participate with the United States of America and the other powers in an agreement made upon these lines, by which the same rights are reciprocally secured.

I avail myself, etc.,

BÜLOW.

FRANCE.

Secretary Hay to Mr. Vignaud, French chargé d'affaires at Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, September 6, 1899.

SIR: I have to inclose, for your confidential information, copies of instructions I have sent under this date to the United States ambassadors at London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg in reference to the desire of this Government that the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, and Russia make formal

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declaration of an "open-door" policy in the territories held by them in China.

I am, etc., JOHN HAY.

(Inclosures:) To London, No. 205, September 6, 1899; to Berlin, No. 927, September 6, 1899; to St. Petersburg, No. 82, September 6, 1899.

Secretary Hay to Ambassador Porter.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 21, 1899.

PORTER, *Ambassador, Paris:*

Informally submit to French Government form of declaration outlined in inclosures with instruction No. 664 of September 6, and ask whether France will join.

HAY.

M. Delcassé, French minister of foreign affairs, to Ambassador Porter.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR: I find your note awaiting me on my return. The declarations which I made in the Chamber on the 24th of November last, and which I have had occasion to recall to you since then, show clearly the sentiments of the Government of the Republic. It desires throughout the whole of China and, with the quite natural reservation that all the powers interested give an assurance of their willingness to act likewise, is ready to apply in the territories which are leased to it, equal treatment to the citizens and subjects of all nations, especially in the matter of customs duties and navigation dues, as well as transportation tariffs on railways.

I beg you, my dear ambassador, to accept, etc.,

DELCASSÉ.

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ITALY.

Secretary Hay to Ambassador Draper.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 17, 1899.

SIR: This Government, animated with a sincere desire to insure to the commerce and industry of the United States and of all other nations perfect equality of treatment within the limits of the Chinese Empire for their trade and navigation, especially within the so-called "spheres of influence or interest" claimed by certain European powers in China, has deemed the present an opportune moment to make representations in this direction to Germany, Great Britain, Japan, and Russia.

To attain the object it has in view and to remove possible causes of international irritation and reëstablish confidence, so essential to commerce, it has seemed to this Government highly desirable that the various powers claiming "spheres of interest or influence" in China should give formal assurances that—

First. They will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory they may have in China.

Second. The Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. They will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of their own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to their own nationals transported over equal distances.

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The policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Tsing-tao (Kiaochau) a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in establishing there a custom-house, and the ukase of His Imperial Russian Majesty of August 11 last, erecting a free port of Dalny (Talienwan) are thought to be proof that these powers are not disposed to view unfavorably the proposition to recognize that they contemplate nothing which will interfere in any way with the enjoyment by the commerce of all nations of the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by existing treaties with China.

Repeated assurances from the British Government of its fixed policy to maintain throughout China freedom of trade for the whole world insure, it is believed, the ready assent of that power to our proposals. The commercial interests of Japan will also be greatly served by the above-mentioned declaration, which harmonizes with the assurances conveyed to this Government at various times by His Imperial Japanese Majesty's diplomatic representative at this capital.

In view of the important and growing commercial interests of Italy in eastern Asia it would seem desirable that His Majesty's Government should also be informed of the steps taken by the United States to insure freedom of trade in China, in which it would find equal advantages to those which the other nations of Europe expect.

You are therefore instructed to submit to His Majesty's minister for foreign affairs the above considerations and to invite his early attention to them, expressing, in the name of your Government, the hope that they will prove acceptable and that His Majesty's Government will lend its aid and valuable assistance in securing their acceptance by the other interested powers.

I inclose, for your personal and confidential information, copies of the instructions sent to our ambassadors at Berlin, London, St. Petersburg, and to our minister at Tokio.

I am, etc.,

JOHN HAY.

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The Marquis Visconti Venosta, Italian minister of foreign affairs, to Ambassador Draper.

ROME, *January* 7, 1900.

Mr. AMBASSADOR: Supplementary to what you had already done me the honor of communicating to me in your note of December 9, 1899, your excellency informed me yesterday of the telegraphic note received from your Government that all the powers consulted by the cabinet of Washington concerning the suitability of adopting a line of policy which would insure to the trade of the whole world equality of treatment in China have given a favorable reply.

Referring to your communications and to the statements in my note of December 23 last, I take pleasure in saying that the Government of the King adheres willingly to the proposals set forth in said note of December 9.

I beg your excellency to kindly convey the notice of our adhesion to the Cabinet of Washington, and I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, etc.

VISCONTI VENOSTA.

JAPAN.

Secretary Hay to Minister Buck.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 13, 1899.

SIR: This Government, animated with a sincere desire to insure to the commerce and industry of the United States and of all other nations perfect equality of treatment within the limits of the Chinese Empire for their trade and navigation, especially within the so-called "spheres of influence or interest" claimed by certain European powers in China, has

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deemed the present an opportune moment to make representations in this direction to Germany, Great Britain and Russia.

To obtain the object it has in view and to remove possible causes of international irritation and reëstablish confidence so essential to commerce, it has seemed to this Government highly desirable that the various powers claiming "spheres of interest or influence" in China should give formal assurances that—

First. They will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory they may have in China.

Second. The Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. They will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of their own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within such "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to their own nationals transported over equal distances.

The policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Tsingtao (Kiaochau) a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in establishing there a custom-house, and the ukase of His Imperial Russian Majesty of August 11 last in erecting a free port at Dalny (Talienwan) are thought to be proof that these powers are not disposed to view unfavorably the proposition to recognize that they contemplate nothing which will interfere in any way with the enjoyment by the commerce of all nations of the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by existing treaties with China.

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Repeated assurances from the British Government of its fixed policy to maintain throughout China freedom of trade for the whole world insure, it is believed, the ready assent of that power to our proposals. It is no less confidently believed that the commercial interests of Japan would be greatly served by the above-mentioned declaration, which harmonizes with the assurances conveyed to this Government at various times by His Imperial Japanese Majesty's diplomatic representative at this capital.

You are therefore instructed to submit to His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Government the above considerations, and to invite their early attention to them, and express the earnest hope of your Government that they will accept them and aid in securing their acceptance by the other interested powers.

I am, etc.,

JOHN HAY.

Viscount Aoki, Minister of foreign affairs, to Minister Buck.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

Tokyo, the 26th day, the 12th month of the 32d year of Meiji.

(*December* 26, 1899.)

Mr. MINISTER: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note No. 176 of the 20th instant, in which, pursuing the instructions of the United States Government, your excellency was so good as to communicate to the Imperial Government the representations of the United States as presented in notes to Russia, Germany, and Great Britain on the subject of commercial interests of the United States in China.

I have the happy duty of assuring your excellency that the Imperial Government will have no hesitation to give their assent to so just and fair a proposal of the United States, provided that all the other powers concerned shall accept the same.

I avail myself, etc.,

VISCOUNT AOKI SIUZO.

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Instructions sent mutatis mutandis to the United States ambassadors at London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome, and to the United States Minister at Tokyo.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 20, 1900.

SIR: The ——— Government having accepted the declaration suggested by the United States concerning foreign trade in China, the terms of which I transmitted to you in my instruction No. —— of ———, and like action having been taken by all the various powers having leased territory or so-called "spheres of interest" in the Chinese Empire, as shown by the notes which I herewith transmit to you, you will please inform the government to which you are accredited that the condition originally attached to its acceptance—that all other powers concerned should likewise accept the proposals of the United States—having been complied with, this Government will therefore consider the assent given to it by ——— as final and definitive.

You will also transmit to the minister for foreign affairs copies of the present inclosures, and by the same occasion convey to him the expression of the sincere gratification which the President feels at the successful termination of these negotiations, in which he sees proof of the friendly spirit which animates the various powers interested in the untrammeled development of commerce and industry in the Chinese Empire and a source of vast benefit to the whole commercial world.

I am, etc.,

JOHN HAY.

(Inclosures:) M. Delcassé to Mr. Porter (received December 16, 1899); Mr. Jackson to Mr. Hay, telegram, December 4, 1899; Count von Bülow to Mr. White, February 19, 1900; Lord Salisbury to Mr. Choate, November 30, 1899; Marquis Visconti Venosta to Mr. Draper, January 7, 1900; Viscount Aoki to Mr. Buck, December 26, 1899; Count Mouravieff to Mr. Tower, December 18, 1899.

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This brings the official correspondence to an end. Lord Salisbury, it will be noticed, says that "Her Majesty's government will be prepared to make a declaration in the sense desired," which may or not be equivalent to actually making a declaration. Count Mouravieff, it will also be observed, is scarcely direct in his statements on the vital questions. These points may rise up in the future to play a great part in the world's affairs, if the partition of old China is to come at last.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Chinese-Japanese War.

THE war between China and Japan, which began in 1894 and ended in the following year, was not only one of the most interesting wars of modern times but it was far-reaching in its influence upon the world at large. In the first place, it was a conclusive demonstration that China had not yet learned the military and naval lessons of the western nations and that her great masses of fighting men, clinging obstinately to mediæval methods even in the face of the rude lessons of the wars with England and France, were an easy prey to a second-class power versed in the fighting art of the moderns. Secondly, it paved the way for all the acquisitions of Chinese territory by foreigners which have been such a startling and world-threatening feature in the history of the last five years. Thirdly, it afforded the first test in actual combat of modern naval vessels, which had been constructed largely on theory. Fourthly, it introduced a new world-power—Japan, which at a bound leaped from the classification of an incompetent Asiatic nation into the full vigor of a formidable foe and a powerful friend.

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At the beginning of the war China was feared, even dreaded, as a power of vast resources which might conquer the world. When the conflict closed, there was none so poor as to do her reverence. In the early part of 1894 China's prowess as a fighting nation was an unsolved problem which became a nightmare for some of the world's statesmen. The wars waged on her own soil by England in the middle of the 19th century and by France later had not afforded a satisfactory test of her military resources and even such observations as had then been made had largely passed from the memory of men. China, when she fought England and France, was largely a sealed book to foreigners. None of them was permitted to remain in the interior of the country while the wars were going on and methods of observation from the outside were necessarily imperfect.

So China in war remained a riddle. It was not positively known at the beginning of 1894 how far she had remodelled her army on modern lines. Her navy, it was known, had actually been so remodelled and she had collected a formidable force on the sea. Distinguished European experts predicted that China would yet become the greatest power on the globe. Lord Wolseley, commander-in-chief of the British army, who had himself seen service in China, expressed the opinion that the Chinaman as an individual had ideal qualifications for a soldier—indomitable bravery, great endurance,

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and amenability to discipline. It was only a question as to who would utilize these qualities in the construction of a military machine which could defy all opposition.

The result of the war was a great shock and a deep humiliation to China. She had not dreamed that her active little neighbor could best her on the field of battle. The Chinese, who are comparatively large men, looked down on the Japanese and called them dwarfs. When they found that the west's intelligence in the art of war—perhaps at best a devilish intelligence—had enabled the "dwarfs" of Japan to down the Chinese giant, the blow to their historic pride was tremendous.

Korea was the cause of the war. Both Japan and China were anxious to maintain permanent ascendancy in that kingdom and here came the trouble. China had claimed rights of suzerainty over Korea since 2000 B. C. In 1637 A. D. there was a dispute and a Chinese army overran the country, exacting conditions of vassalage that continued to be observed until 1894. In accordance with Chinese practice, these conditions were not permitted to interfere with the internal independence of the tributary nation. The only conditions were that the Korean king and his heir-apparent must apply for and receive investiture from the emperor of China; that an annual mission must be sent with tribute to Pekin and that no important

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arrangement with a foreign power must be entered into without the consent of China.

But Korea carried water on both shoulders. She was also tributary to Japan from the third century to 641 A. D. and near the close of the 16th century Japanese troops conquered the country, renewing conditions of suzerainty which Japan had continued to claim since, though not maintaining them so actively as China. Among the Koreans in the latter part of the 19th century two parties grew up, one favoring the introduction of modern methods as in the case of Japan and the other opposing innovation as treason to Confucian principles. In 1876 this led to a clash and then a treaty. The Chinese in that year annexed the neutral strip of territory, 60 miles wide, beyond the Yalu river, which forms the northern boundary of Korea. The Japanese in turn made a naval demonstration. The result was a treaty, in which China and Japan acknowledged the independence of Korea.

In 1882 the Japanese legation at Seoul, the Korean capital, was attacked and afterward Japan maintained a military guard there. This was an opening wedge for the conflict that was to come. As Japan maintained soldiers in Korea, China also felt privileged to do so and she was not slow in following her island neighbor's move.

On December 4, 1884, a band of conspirators headed by Kim Ok Kiun, ex-minister to Japan, killed the principal ministers and courtiers at Seoul

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and seized the Korean king himself. The Japanese legation guard, numbering 140 men, interfered and secured the custody of the monarch. Chinese soldiers who had been encamped outside the town went to the rescue and overwhelmed the Japanese. The Koreans rose and there was a general slaughter of Japanese residents. For a time there was a serious rupture, but the Chinese government opened negotiations for a treaty to regulate the relations of both countries with Korea, the result of which was an agreement signed at Tientsin in April, 1885, providing that China and Japan should both withdraw their troops from Korea and not send any more except in case of grave disturbance, when they were to act jointly, and withdraw their soldiers as soon as the trouble was settled.

In the spring of 1894 the final crisis began to develop. A Korean association known as the Tong Hak, representing the idea of national independence from both China and Japan, incited a rebellion in the southern province of Chulla. A force of 1000 soldiers who were sent against the insurgents would not fight, sympathizing with the movement, and as the rebellion spread into other parts of Korea, King Li Hi, at the suggestion of Yuan, the Chinese resident agent, called upon the government at Pekin for aid. Li Hung Chang, who was then in power, sent 2000 soldiers into the country. Japan protested against this as independent interference by China in violation of the treaty of Tientsin.

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As a matter of fact it was believed at the capitals of the world that both countries had been preparing to violate the terms of their agreement in regard to Korea. When the pinch came, though, China acted first. Hostility between them had been increasing, and they made ready for a trial of strength—the colossal nation of China against the young and active power of Japan. Statesmen of both countries foresaw war. Japan had systematically made ready for it in accordance with the most modern principles, but China, as the event proved, trusted too much in what she believed to be her natural strength, and was lax in preparing. Chinese soldiers were sent to settle in Korea under the guise of merchants and mechanics, ready to act if the pro-Japanese party attempted to go too far; but Japan attacked the problem in a more practical way. Her navy was thoroughly overhauled and drilled and her generals made a detailed study of Korean topography for use in the war that was coming.

As the 2000 troops sent by Li Hung Chang failed to put down the Tong Hak rebellion, Japan gave notice of sending troops to Korea June 3, 1894, and in a week had landed 5000 men on the west coast. The troops were debarked under the pretext of escorting the Japanese minister, Otori, on his return to Seoul June 9, and then of guarding the Japanese legation. On July 3 Otori submitted an important note to the Korean monarch, which served as a basis for the negotiations that finally collapsed when the

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war broke out. This note deplored the disorders in a country close to Japan in which she felt a deep interest, and submitted a scheme of reform which in general terms may be stated as follows:

(1) The civil government in Seoul and the provinces to be thoroughly reformed and the departments arranged under proper responsible heads.

(2) The country's resources to be developed by the construction of railroads and the opening of mines.

(3) Radical reforms in the laws of Korea.

(4) The military forces to be reorganized under competent instructors, so as to render the country secure from internal disorder and external attack.

(5) Education to be thoroughly reformed according to modern ideas.

The Korean King delayed a few days and finally on July 10 sent a commission to consult Otori about his plan of reform. To the commissioners, Otori unfolded his views in detail.

While these negotiations were in progress, both the King of Korea and the Chinese minister at Seoul urged Otori to withdraw the Japanese troops lest a collision should occur between them and the Chinese. This the Japanese minister positively declined to do. It had come to a clash. Either China or Japan should be supreme in Korea and each country was equally determined.

At first steps were taken to avert the war by mediation. China invoked the friendly offices of

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Russia, which had pledged herself not to take possession of any part of Korea when the British evacuated Port Hamilton. This pledge was to be modified later in spirit, if not in letter, when Russia attempted to secure a lease at Masampho and actually gained some advantage there. At the same time China appealed to Russia, she notified the powers of the world that the Korean rebels had dispersed on the arrival of the Chinese troops, who were ready to retire, except for the fact that the Tokyo government refused to withdraw the Japanese troops. The European ministers at Seoul, at the request of the King, made a joint demand for the withdrawal of both the Chinese and Japanese. China assented at once, but Japan, whose blood was up, delayed an answer nearly three weeks and then referred the ministers at Seoul to the court of Tokyo through the ministers there. Japan also continued to press her scheme for reforms in Korea. The King was in straits, but Li Hung Chang promised him military assistance and he became bold enough to send a note to Otori repudiating the whole reform plan. Otori acted promptly. He sent an ultimatum to the King the next day giving 24 hours in which to demand the withdrawal of the Chinese troops, sever all relations with China, agree to maintain Korea as an independent country and carry out the Japanese program of reform. No reply being vouchsafed to this, Otori became still bolder. With the legation guard of 600 soldiers,

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he forced his way through the palace guard, after a fight in which 7 Japanese and 80 Koreans fell. He compelled the King to send for Tai Wen Kun, a statesman of Japanese proclivities, and appoint him regent to carry out the reform program. This was an essentially oriental way of doing things and was a direct blow at the sovereignty of Korea, if such a thing could be held really to exist.

Having thus made a virtual prisoner of the Korean King and taken power out of his hands, Japan presented the following demands at Pekin:

China to acquiesce in the principle of reform for Korea and to recognize arrangements made already with the Korean King; to admit that Japan should enjoy in Korea the same rights as China, except in regard to Chinese suzerainty, which was not to be touched and might retain its historic and ceremonious character; arrangements to be made at a conference of representatives of the two powers for the withdrawal of the troops as soon as order was restored. In conclusion, Japan declared that the sending of more Chinese troops to Korea would be considered a hostile act against which she would take steps of self-defense.

The Russian government, whose far-seeing diplomats had their eyes on Korea, asked an explanation of Japanese proceedings in that country, intimating that the Czar would not permit any acquisition of territory. In reply, Russia was informed that no designs on Korea were intended, and that Japan

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would withdraw her troops as soon as Chinese interference ceased. This satisfied St. Petersburg.

The connection of the United States with the war now began. This country felt bound by a special duty to Korea, and had also a special interest in Japan, having been the first western nation to open both countries and make treaties with them. A treaty made in Washington in 1882 with Korean envoys stipulated that, "if other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert its friendly offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable settlement, thus showing its friendly feelings." When the rebellion had spread through several provinces and the capital was threatened, the Korean King had asked the United States to send warships to Chemulpo. The cruiser Baltimore was dispatched, and on receiving from the Seoul government a warning that the rebellion was directed against foreigners, marines were landed to protect the United States legation and the lives of Americans. At that time Americans were more numerous in Korea than the subjects of any European power, numbering about 80, including several advisers of the king himself. The monarch appealed to the United States under the treaty, saying that his country was dealt with unjustly and oppressively by both Japan and China in stationing troops on Korean soil. The United States ministers in Pekin and Tokyo were accordingly instructed to make representations to the

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governments embodying the king's complaint and exerting the friendly offices of America to relieve Korea's troubles. China disclaimed all intention of oppressing Korea and expressed a willingness to recall her troops as soon as Japan consented to do the same. Japan repudiated designs on Korean territory but declined to withdraw her troops until satisfactory measures had been taken to prevent the recurrence of disturbances. As a next step the United States offered its good offices as mediator in case they should be desired, but the situation had gone too far for mediation and the clouds of war were soon to break.

Great Britain also took a hand. She was anxious to preserve the situation as it was and wanted to bring about European intervention, but could not safely attempt this alone for fear of involving herself with other powers. So she requested the governments of Russia, France, Germany, and Italy to join the British ministers at Pekin and Tokyo in an offer of mediation. All agreed to this so long as it was confined to peaceful counsels. The United States refused to act in concert with Great Britain or any other power, but was willing to mediate independently. Great Britain advanced suggestions of forcible intervention, but the powers would not give their consent. The London government knew that its prestige in the Orient largely rested on a belief in the naval and military superiority of Great Britain, and feared that the coming war would de-

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velop a new sea or land power, or both, which would seriously threaten the British position.

We have sketched in some detail the diplomatic events leading up to the war because they throw light upon the conditions of Asiatic politics at a time almost simultaneous with our own. Next we come to consider the war itself, which was about to burst upon the world.

All hope of averting the conflict seeming useless, the Chinese government presented its ultimatum and received the formal defiance of Japan. China made hasty preparations, raising recruits to serve in a campaign in Korea, for Li Hung Chang declined to send his seasoned troops there, except a few for the instruction of the others. The Chinese recruits were chiefly coolies armed with obsolete weapons and retaining their national dress. Japan's troops, on the other hand, were armed and drilled in the most modern fashion and wore European uniforms, better suited to the work of a campaign in the field. China, having no troop transports of her own, chartered a number of them from British shipowners. She prepared to send some of her troops to Korea in these vessels while others were to enter from Manchuria by crossing the Yalu river.

In her ultimatum China had demanded that Japan withdraw her troops from Korea by July 20, otherwise Chinese soldiers would be landed and a sea advance made. The ultimatum having expired on that day, China promptly sent a detachment of her

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northern squadron from Taku convoying transports carrying 2000 troops bound for Korea. Most of these were landed at Asan.

The Japanese cruisers Naniwa, Akitsushima, and Takachiho appeared in Prince Jerome gulf July 25 and met the Chinese cruiser Chi Yuen and the dispatch boat Kootsu convoying the transport Kow Shing, on board of which were 1700 troops. The Chinese ships made hostile signals and prepared to fight. Two of the Japanese cruisers confronted the opposing warships and the Naniwa pursued the transport, signalling her to stop. This transport was owned by an English firm, was under the English flag, and was navigated by English officers. The Japanese demanded that she should go as a prize to a Japanese port. The English argued that the ship was flying their flag and that it should be respected, while the Chinese on board declared they would rather die than surrender. The Japanese were prepared to fight, and signalled to the English to quit the Kow Shing, which they did, leaping into the sea and being afterward rescued by the boats of the Naniwa. Then the Japanese opened fire with their heavy cannon and machine guns, discharging also two torpedoes, which struck the transport and exploded, sending her to the bottom with most of her 1700 men. All of these 1700 were drowned except about 200, who were picked up by the boats of German and French men-of-war in the vicinity.

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In the meantime the Akitsushima and Takachiho had engaged the Chi Yuen and the Kootsu. An hour's determined fighting occurred and then the Chi Yuen showed signals of surrender. The Japanese warships approached her, when she suddenly discharged several torpedoes, which, however, the Japanese were able to prevent from reaching their ships. Again the battle began and after it had raged several hours the Chi Yuen turned and fled, escaping the Japanese cruiser which pursued her. The Kootsu ran aground and was captured by the Japanese.

On the same day, off Fontao island, a battle occurred between the Chinese cruiser Chih Yuen and the Japanese cruiser Yoshino. Though her turret and steering gear were disabled by a shell, the Chih Yuen in turn managed to disable the Japanese ship and would have seized her as a prize had not other Japanese vessels appeared. At this the Chih Yuen went back to Wai Hai Wei as fast as she could go. The troop ship To Nan, which she had been convoying, was sunk with 1000 soldiers on board and the So Keang, a Chinese war vessel which had been following the Chih Yuen, was captured.

The government of Japan offered to make reparation for the action of the Naniwa in firing upon a ship flying the English flag and officially expressed regret; but a British court of inquiry which met at Shanghai decided that the Naniwa was justified and that no reparation was due.

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Early in August another naval battle occurred which resulted in a draw between the Chinese battleship Chen Yuen and the Japanese cruiser Hi Yei. Both ships were greatly damaged and made for port to undergo repairs.

The Japanese admiral decided to concentrate his vessels for a time along the southern coast of Korea to protect the transports which were carrying troops from Japan to Korea, and also to guard against a descent by Chinese upon the coast of Japan. Later, finding that the heavy battleships of China were not overly aggressive in taking the sea, but remained most of the time under the shelter of the guns of Wei Hai Wei, the Japanese became bolder and cruised up the gulf of Pechili, challenging the opposing fleet to battle. The truth was now becoming apparent. China's navy was not ready for war. It lacked skillful officers, though both officers and men were brave enough. The Chinese, though naturally excellent sailors, lacked the scientific expertness needed to navigate and give battle with modern ships of war. Their English and Scotch engineers had left the service at the outbreak of hostilities, and not enough trained Chinese were available to operate the engines properly. Besides, the supply of good coal was short and the commanders had to be too economical in its use to secure the best results. The Japanese navy, on the other hand, was well equipped and in prime condition. It consisted chiefly of cruisers, while the

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Chinese navy had a greater number of heavy battleships. The Japanese vessels were faster and better maneuvered, while the Chinese men-of-war had the larger guns.

The bold plan of an attack on the Chinese fleet under the guns of Wei Hai Wei was decided upon. At one o'clock in the morning of August 11 twelve Japanese men-of-war and 6 torpedo-boats entered the harbor under cover of darkness. The torpedo-boats were sent to sink the Chinese ships, but a British cruiser in the harbor suddenly flashed a light on the boats and fired a salute for the Japanese vessels. It was afterward explained by her commander that his object was to prevent the Japanese torpedo-boats from attacking his vessel. But the attempted surprise had been largely spoiled. The Chinese forts and ships opened fire on the Japanese, and after an hour's exchange of shots the Japanese withdrew, little damage having been done on either side. A few days later the Japanese fleet attacked Port Arthur to learn the position of its guns. After this had been accomplished the fleet retired, not being ready to risk a decisive engagement with the powerful Armstrong guns of the land batteries there.

A state of war now being in full blast, formal declarations of hostilities were made by the governments of China and Japan. China requested the United States representatives in Japan to look after the interests of her subjects during the period of

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conflict, and Japan made a similar request as to the United States representatives in China. Both were granted.

The chief burden of the war as regards China fell upon Li Hung Chang, who was then in supreme control at Pekin. He had tried his best to avert hostilities, but now that they had come he was to be the executive director of them. The problem was a trying one. Besides the comparative ineffectiveness of his navy, his army was not one-fourth as strong as Japan's. The viceroys of the provinces, each anxious to retain troops for the protection of local territory, failed to extend hearty coöperation. China, though immensely richer in material resources than Japan, was financially crippled. Her wealthy men would not take a loan of $1,000,000, while public-spirited Japanese readily advanced $15,000,000 for their government.

Japan, which had in the meantime forced Korea to conclude a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, took energetic steps for the military occupation of that country. She landed 30,000 troops at Chemulpo, 12,000 at Fusan and 3000 at Gensan, taking possession of the strategic positions and roads, constructing field telegraphs and transporting supplies in conformity with a previously prepared plan. China also made ready to invade Korea in force. She had 2000 picked Manchu veterans at Assan and 5000 coolie recruits were landed to reinforce them. Troops were also massed in Manchuria preparatory

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to invading Korea by crossing the Yalu river. The movement over the Yalu begun July 25, and by August 1, 30,000 men were concentrated at Wichu, in the northwestern corner of Korea, where several thousand more who went from China by sea joined them later. This army advanced about 100 miles southward and took up a position at Pingyang.

The Japanese drove the Chinese force out of Assan, and advanced to a point near Pingyang prepared to give battle to the main army of the foe. The possession of Assan was gained by the Japanese only after a severe fight. They were commanded by Gen. Oshima, who had studied military science in Germany and was a clever strategist. Applying his European knowledge, he first attacked the Chinese in the flanks and rear, afterward delivering an assault in front. The Chinese lost 500 men and the Japanese but 75 in the battle. Gen. Yeh, the Chinese commander, managed to retreat in good order, leaving, however, 4 of his cannon and most of his war stores in the hands of the Japanese. By a rapid march of 350 miles he retreated to Pingyang, where he joined Gen. Tio's main army. This march was successfully accomplished under great difficulty, and American and European strategists bestowed high praise on it.

Gen. Oshima, the victorious Japanese commander, advanced to Pong San, north of Seoul, where he was reinforced by 12,000 men, who had landed at Fusan and 6000 who had debarked at

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Chemulpo. The Chinese made the Taitong river their main line of defense. They advanced in force August 13 and won a few minor successes, but allowed themselves to be entrapped by the wily Japanese near Changhua and were defeated with a loss of 500 men. The Chinese soon received reinforcements which brought their army on the Taitong up to 34,000 men. A Japanese force of 8000 landed at Gensan and marched over the mountains to attack the Chinese in flank. Still another force landed at Pingyang inlet and established itself, after a hot fight, at Hwang Ju, 45 miles from Pingyang. Soon all was ripe for a general attack on Pingyang. The force that had landed at Gensan attacked one flank of the Chinese and the Hwang Ju column attacked the other. The Chinese were compelled to retreat to the city of Pingyang, after suffering heavy losses, and shut themselves up there in a strongly fortified position. Here, on September 16, another well-planned assault was delivered, Field Marshal Yamagata having arrived to take supreme command of the Japanese. His army numbered 40,000 and that of his opponents about 30,000. The center column of the Japanese hammered the Chinese front and the other columns surprised Gen. Tio's men by attacking on the flanks and rear, where, having failed to learn by experience, they were unprepared to resist. Caught at a great disadvantage, the Chinese became panic-stricken and the Japanese cut them down without

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mercy. The Chinese losses in killed, wounded and prisoners were more than 16,000 while the victors lost but 30 killed and 270 wounded. Five thousand trained troops of the Chinese army who formed a nucleus for the mass of coolie recruits stood their ground until all of them were cut down. Four Chinese generals were captured, besides thousands of rifles and great stores of ammunition and food.

The next development of the war was a naval one, and in many respects the most important incident of the entire conflict. It was the famous battle of the Yalu river, in which the power of the Chinese fleet was utterly broken and the Japanese established conclusively their prowess as a naval nation. Bent on strengthening their military position in Northern Korea, the Chinese assembled fresh troops at Wei Hai Wei and reinforced their fleet under Admiral Ting by ships drawn from the southern coast of the empire. The fleet sailed September 14 for the mouth of the Yalu, convoying six transports on board of which were 4000 troops, with guns and stores. On September 17 the ships reached the mouth of the Yalu. A Japanese fleet, which was cruising in the vicinity, sighted them, and deploying in line of battle, began an immediate advance while the transports were beginning to unload.

It was a fine naval spectacle, for both fleets were composed of powerful modern vessels and each was by no means inconsiderable in size.

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China's ships in the first line of defense were the Chen Yuen, Ching Yuen, Ting Yuen, Chao Yung, Yung Wei, Chih Yuen, and Chi Yuen, all being battleships except the two last-named, which were cruisers. A second line of defense was made up of the cruisers Kwang Kai and Kwang Ting and four torpedo boats. On the Japanese side were the cruisers Matsusima, Itsukushima, Hashidate, Yoshino, Naniwa, Takachiho, Akitsushima, Chigoda, Hi Yei, Fuso, Akagi, Sakio Maru and five torpedo boats.

Advancing, the Japanese ships maneuvered at full speed, circling about the Chinese fleet, which drew up in wedge formation and remained on the defensive, turning slowly to keep up with the movements of the Japanese and always facing them. By this means the Chinese hoped to neutralize the speed of the hostile cruisers and beat them off with the fire of heavy guns.

The Japanese finally opened broadsides on the Chen Yuen and Ting Yuen and tried to break through the first line of defense so as to attack the transports. After they had completed one circle, firing as they moved, they hauled off and at a distance of 8000 yards formed two divisions, the first which composed of the seven best crusiers, advanced to attack the Chen Yuen and Ting Yuen. The other division engaged the Chinese cruisers. Again they circled around the Chinese fleet, taking full advantage of their speed and using their quick-firing guns, whose shells set the Chinese ships on fire

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several times and riddled their vast protected parts. By fast maneuvering the Japanese avoided to a large extent the fire of the Chinese heavy guns, but some of the huge shells struck home and the Japanese had practically to stop fighting several times in order to put out fires on their own vessels. The Chinese fired 197 rounds with 12 inch, and 268 rounds with 6 inch guns and the roar was awful. Near the close of the battle their supply of shells became exhausted, and they had to rely exclusively on steel shot, which were not so effective.

Bursting Japanese shells silenced the big guns of both the Chen Yuen and Ting Yuen. The Chen Yuen suffered fearfully. Of the 460 men on board of her when the battle began, 350 were killed. The Chih Yuen was struck on the hull and her commander, Captain Tang, rushed her at full speed at the opposing Japanese ship with the intention of ramming but his vessel foundered with 250 men on board before reaching her mark. The Ching Yuen caught fire in several places and was finally sunk with a torpedo, her 270 men going down with her. Captain Fong took the Chi Yuen out of action and guided her into shallow water, where she ran down and sank the sister Chinese ship Yung Wei, most of whose crew of 250 were drowned. For this act Fong was beheaded when he returned to Port Arthur later. The Kwang Kai took to flight and ran upon a reef in Talienwan Bay, where the Japanese found and destroyed her afterward. The

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Chao Yung also ran aground and was set on fire by Japanese shells. The Akitsushima and Yoshino made a sudden attack on the starboard side of the Chinese line followed by three torpedo boats. But the Ting Yuen and Chao Yung stopped the torpedoes with nets and beat off the Japanese cruisers, which were badly battered. Despite their heavy losses, the Chinese fleet succeeded in preventing the Japanese from breaking through and attacking the transports. The battle raged fiercely from 1 P. M. until darkness set in, when the Japanese fleet, though it had crushed the sea power of China, withdrew, too much battered to follow up its victory. In the entire combat the Japanese lost but 40 killed and 160 wounded, while the Chinese lost over ten times as many.

The Chinese fleet having been crushed and the Chinese army defeated at Pingyang, the Japanese organized a flying column of troops to secure the mountain passes of northern Korea preparatory to marching into Chinese territory by that route. The Chinese general Sung Kwei had posted 15,000 soldiers along the Yalu and 6000 as a reserve in the fortified city of Kiu Lien Cheng. The key to his position was Hu Shan, where he constructed strong intrenchments and stationed nearly 100 cannon with a force of 6000 men. On October 25 a Japanese army 17,000 strong attacked Hu Shan in the usual way simultaneously on the front, flanks and rear. The Chinese position was soon carried;

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its defenders leaving 700 dead on the field and the victors losing but 33 killed and 112 wounded. Carrying most of their guns the Chinese retreated to Chin Lien, 30 miles north of the Yalu. A stand was made by General Sung at Kiu Lien Cheng, but he, too, met a bloody defeat, losing 200 killed, while but 20 of the Japanese attacking force were killed. The Chinese were thus forced to evacuate all Korea.

The Japanese now pressed on and invaded Manchuria, General Nodzu moving against Feng Huang Cheng, where the Chinese had collected for another stand. Nodzu attacked October 28 and again the Japanese won an easy victory. It had become plainly apparent that their superior tactics and marksmanship were far more than a match for the Chinese, whose bravery could not compensate for their ignorance of the modern art of war, Lieutenant-General Knei Hsiang, father of the emperor's wife, took the direction of the defenses of Manchuria and hurried fresh brigades of raw coolies to the front. These coolies, as usual, were insufficiently fed, poorly equipped and not certain of getting their pay.

General Ma encamped at Sinyen with 20,000 Chinese, who were attacked November 11 by Japanese under General Oseko and put to flight. The Chinese made several stands of lesser importance but were defeated in every case.

Port Arthur, the powerful fortress at the end of the Liao-Tung peninsula, which Russia has since

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gotten possession of, became an object of attack by the Japanese. An army of 30,000 men was collected at Hiroshima, where the Japanese emperor, Mutsuhito, established his headquarters as commander-in-chief. This army sailed October 23 on 38 transports, escorted by the fleet. It was commanded by Field Marshal Count Oyama, who had been released from his duties as minister of war to take a billet in the field. The troops landed at Honen Ku, 85 miles northeast of Port Arthur and attacked on November 4 the forts at Kinchau, which were promptly captured, the 1500 Chinese defenders making but a feeble defense. In a few days the six forts at Talienwan were attacked from the rear after a bombardment and were captured with a rush, the garrison of 3000 men running away after firing a few shots and leaving their arms and standards as they fled toward Port Arthur. The Chinese force at Port Arthur consisted of 15,000 men, who were not trusted by their commander, being composed, as usual, of coolies. He sent to Tientsin for reinforcements and Prince Kung, who was then in control, grudgingly gave him 2000 men. Kung had displaced Li Hung Chang, who had fallen into disfavor at Pekin as a result of the Chinese reverses and had been deprived of his yellow jacket—the royal color—his peacock feather and other marks of distinction.

Despite the weakness of the coolie army, some of the preparations for defending Port Arthur

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showed considerable skill. The hills were lined with dynamite, connected with underground electric wires. General Oyama became aware of these mines and advanced his troops with extreme caution, being thus able to escape a serious catastrophe.

At noon on November 20 the attack on Port Arthur began. The Japanese fleet and land batteries fired simultaneously. For a time the artillery duel was terrific. Some Chinese gunners who had been trained served the Armstrong and Krupp cannon skillfully. The Chinese infantry made a sortie in three columns and brought the Japanese advance guard to a standstill at one time, but Oyama sent up more artillery and the Chinese were driven back. The battle raged November 20, 21 and 22, and ended in the complete success of the Japanese, who lost but 250 in killed and wounded. The Chinese loss was 2000.

In Port Arthur 80 cannon, quantities of torpedoes, 10,000 tons of coal, and an enormous supply of rice were captured. Some of the vessels which had been disabled in the battle of the Yalu were found in the Chinese docks, and these the victors repaired and converted to their own use. The repaired battleship Chen Yuen had started from Wei Hai Wei for the purpose of aiding in the defense of Port Arthur, but before clearing the harbor of Wei Hai Wei she accidentally ran upon a sunken torpedo, which exploded. Commodore Lin, her commander, who had fought heroically in the Yalu battle, ran

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his ship upon the beach to prevent her from sinking and then committed suicide.

Meanwhile the land advance into Manchuria was going on. The reserves of a new Japanese army corps were mobilized and landed on the shore of Liao-Tung gulf near Kinchau. Communication was established with the first army, which was rapidly moving through Manchuria towards Niu Chwang. Two Chinese armies tried to keep these corps separated but without success. Winter was on, and snow covered the ground, rendering the military operations extremely difficult.

At Kungwasai one of the most desperate battles of the war was fought December 19. The Chinese were posted there in a strongly intrenched position which, from the nature of the ground, was not open to Japanese attack in the flanks and rear. General Osaka had a larger army and a considerable number of cannon, so he decided on a frontal attack. His fire was hotly returned when he advanced and his men were driven back with heavy loss, mitrailleuses having suddenly opened on them. A second assault was attempted and another repulse was the result. Japanese reinforcements finally arrived and Kungwasai was captured by the fourth charge of the Japanese in the face of a galling fire. They lost 450 men, while the Chinese loss, including prisoners, was 900.

The year 1894 ended in gloom for China. Prince Kung had done no better in the management of the

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war than Li Hung Chang, if as well, and he was replaced by Liu Kun Yi, viceroy of Canton, who was directed to organize the defense of the province of Pechili, in which Pekin is situated.

On January 17, 1895, two Chinese armies about 14,000 strong attacked a strong body of Japanese who were intrenched at Hai-Tcheng. The attack was a failure, the Chinese losing Generals Cheng and Tai, their two commanders, and being driven off with the loss of five cannon. Five days later the Chinese attacked the same place again and suffered a second repulse. On February 16 a Chinese army of 16,000 men made a third attack but the superior artillery fire of the Japanese won the day. Two more assaults on the same position failed to carry it, as General Nodzu, the Japanese commander, seemed to be prepared for all emergencies.

In the second week of January a third army 25,000 strong, sailed from Japan and landed in the Chinese province of Shantung for an attack on Wei Hai Wei. Marshal Oyuma was in command and the powerful Chinese fortress was captured by the same tactics which had been successful at Port Arthur. A Japanese fleet of 20 cruisers and gunboats, and an equal number of torpedo boats, coöperated. The invaders occupied the land forts February 2. The Chinese fleet which had massed in the bay of Wei Hai Wei held out longer, surrendering 14 days afterward when most of its ships

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had been captured or destroyed. Admiral Ting, the Chinese commander, committed suicide.

The Japanese army in Manchuria attacked and captured the important city of Niu Chwang, March 4, losing 206 killed and wounded. The Chinese left on the field 1,880 killed and wounded, and 18 cannon.

The capture of Niu Chwang and Wei Hai Wei imminently threatened Pekin, but the capital was not to fall. The Chinese government saw the hopelessness of further resistance and sent Li Hung Chang, who was once more called to serve his country in a critical time, to conclude terms of peace. Accompanied by John W. Foster, a well-known American diplomatic expert, as consultor and adviser, Li landed at Shimoneseki, Japan, March 19, 1895, and there the treaty of peace was drawn up, Marquis Ito being the Mikado's principal representative in the negotiations. While Li was returning from one of the confereuces at Shimoneseki, Koyama, a Japanese patriot of the fanatical order, attempted to assassinate him. A bullet struck the famous Chinese statesman in the face, inflicting a serious wound. Nothing daunted, Li waited for the wound to heal and then resumed the negotiations.

On April 17, 1895, the treaty of Shimoneseki was signed by Li Hung Chang and Li Ching Fong on behalf of China and by Marquis Ito and Viscount Mutsu on behalf of Japan. The complete independence of Korea was recognized. China

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ceded to Japan the island of Formosa, the Pescadore islands, and the part of Manchuria which the Japanese troops had occupied, including Port Arthur. A war indemnity of about $150,000,000 was to be paid by China. Wei Hai Wei was to be temporarily occupied by Japan as a guarantee to secure the payment of this sum. China agreed to open to commerce the ports of Shashih, Chung King, Suchau and Hangchau. In this form the treaty was ratified by both China and Japan, though at first there was great opposition to it at Pekin on the ground that it made too many concessions.

But Asia was not to settle the terms of peace in final form, for Europe stepped in and by a show of force gobbled the chief plums. On April 23, 1895, the Russian, German and French ministers at Tokio presented a joint note to the Japanese government protesting against the cession of the Liao-Tung peninsula, which embraced the extent of Japan's gains in Manchuria. The protest was made on the ground that Japanese possession of the peninsula would constitute a serious menace to Pekin and to the independence of Korea, thus being detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient. Each of these three countries, particularly Russia, made a show of force, and as Japan had been greatly weakened by her conflict with China she felt that she could not afford to fight this formidable coalition. Finally, Russia sent an ultimatum and Japan agreed to abandon the peninsula on the payment of about

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$20,000,000 extra indemnity by China. Paris and St. Petersburg bankers, with the guarantee of the Russian government, gave China a loan to enable her to meet the first installment of the indemnity.

Russia was now on the best of terms with Pekin and had the powerful backing of Li Hung Chang. She was regarded as the friend who had enabled the Chinese to recover the Liao-Tung peninsula. Soon a surprise was sprung. In the summer of 1896, a secret treaty with China was arranged by Count Cassini, then the Russian Minister at Pekin. According to its terms, Russia secured a virtual lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan and the authority to make Port Arthur the terminus of the Siberian railroad, with concessions for building branch lines of the Russian system in Manchuria. Immediate steps to this end were taken, Russia assuming possession of both the leased ports and of important strategic positions in Manchuria. The treaty was strengthened by subsequent negotiations until Russia was given secure possession of the district of Port Arthur and Talienwan, with control of Manchuria. She did this ostensibly for the protection of her railroad interests and China's, which were linked together in the treaty. Later, Russia began secret moves for taking practical possession of Mongolia in which province, however, her influence is not yet so pronounced as in Manchuria. She preserves the nominal sovereignity of the Pekin government

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wherever she goes in China and where she takes practical possession it is done under this guise.

Germany also stepped in. The war with Japan and its developments had immensely stimulated the feeling against foreigners in China and in 1897 two German missionaries were murdered in Shantung province. As reparation for this Germany took possession of Kiaochau, a strong seaport and natural fortress on the eastern coast of Shantung. Later Germany claimed the entire province as her "sphere of influence" and obtained preferential rights for Germans there. She was at length given definite control of Kiaochau and a large adjacent tract by treaty.

England had her eye on Wei Hai Wei as an offset to Port Arthur and on April 2, 1898, the Chinese government agreed to lease it to her. The first installments of the war indemnity being paid, Japan withdrew her troops from Wei Hai Wei. Great Britain also obtained a cession of additional territory in the Kowlun district which was added to Hong Kong.

France took a slice of the pie. She demanded in April, 1898, and received a lease of Kwangchau Bay, in Southern China, a concession for a railroad connecting Tonkin with Yunnan-Fu by way of the Red river; an agreement by China not to alienate the territories of the Chinese provinces bordering on the French possessions in Tonkin, and not to cede the island of Hainan to any other power.

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Italy demanded, on February 28, 1899, a lease of San Mun Bay, on the eastern coast of China, but the Pekin government refused this and Italy did not press the demand, though she has not withdrawn it. England supported Italy in this question.

All this created great alarm, akin to panic, among Chinamen, and paved the way for the outbreak of the Boxers. Right before their eyes was the spectacle of Europe parcelling out the empire, as if it were a "plum-cake," to quote the phrase of one observant statesman. Was this to continue? asked the Chinese. Were their government, their civilization, their property, but a pawn upon the international chess board? In this supreme moment of their nation's history their wrath fell upon the missionaries, whom they firmly regarded as the advance agents of fleets, armies and grasping diplomats, the authors of their undoing. No wonder that in this state of feeling, blood was to flow in streams.

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CHAPTER V.

The Railway as a Conqueror in Asia.

IT may almost be said that Asia can hear its doom in the scream of the locomotive's whistle. Nowhere else in the world does the railway play such an important part in settling the destiny of a continent. The railway in Asia is not only an instrument of peace, but a weapon of war and a tool of diplomacy. The Cape-to-Cairo project in Africa is the nearest analogy to it, but the map of Africa will be made up long before that road is completed. In Asia, however, the changes of international boundaries wait upon the march of the all-conquering monarch, King Railroad.

Take a map of the continent upon which the rail lines are shown and you will see the Siberian system of roads, like a great steel hand, reaching out to take it in a grasp which is not to be relaxed. To the astute advisers of the czar is credit due for foreseeing the wonderful possibilities of the railway in controlling the future of Asia. In their cabinet chambers at St. Petersburg they originated a tremendous scheme for building a series of roads, all parts of the same immense whole, which would give them the mastery of the continent. This

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scheme has dawned on the world gradually, and is yet in its infancy as far as its practical accomplishment goes, though great changes have been made already. It has two objects, both open and avowed. One is to divert the trade of Asia from the seacoast inland to Russia. The other is to extend Russian domination over any part of the continent which the Czar may choose to take. Russia reasons that in the past the European nation which has controlled the trade of Asia has been the leading power in the world, and she aspires to attain that distinction by means of the railroad. If the Russians are not sailors, they can at least be tireless railroad builders and work out a destiny which may put that of the maritime nations in the shade.

China, as the richest prize, engaged the first attention of the Czar. To win her when the time comes, Russia must be able to hurl immense masses of troops quickly to her borders. The route by sea from Russia's strip of coast on the Baltic is impracticable for this. The railway route eastward through the heart of Siberia is practicable and to this Russia has turned.

When the project was first undertaken it was announced that the eastern terminus of the road was to be Vladivostock, on the Pacific, at the extreme southeastern dip of Siberia. This would have served the purposes of war but not of commerce, and Russia wanted it to serve both. Vladivostock, though a good natural harbor and capable

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of almost impregnable fortification, is ice-locked for several months of the year. Port Arthur, further south, at the northern side of the Gulf of Pechili and in Chinese territory, was the ideal site for the terminus. No wonder Russia joined France and Germany, at the close of the Chinese-Japanese war, in "advising" Japan not to retain Port Arthur, which she had conquered, for fear that it might lead to serious complications and menace the integrity of China.

Soon after the Japanese troops had withdrawn, Russia had obtained Port Arthur and the near-by harbor of Talienwan under the guise of a lease from China. She proceeded with equal promptness to fortify the former and to equip it with handsome and costly buildings suitable for every purpose of a military and commercial centre. Japan looked on in amazement and rage, but it was too late. "What are you going to do about it?" asked Russia, Germany and France. And Japan did nothing.

Though the railroad had been partly constructed from Vladivostock northward there was an immediate change of plan so as to divert the principal eastern terminus to Port Arthur. This has now been almost accomplished. Except for a stretch of a few hundred miles in Manchuria, the road is ready. In its hasty construction it has not been made suitable for a regular service of fast trains over its entire length, but it can haul soldiers and supplies, and that is the main point to be gained by

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the Czar at first. Over the part of the route as yet uncompleted is maintained a gigantic caravan service, which in time of sudden emergency can bridge the gap. In the last six months, with war in Asia as an imminent probability, from 50,000 to 100,000 Chinese coolies have been constantly employed in the work of construction. By the autumn of 1900, if present plans can be carried out, the road will be ready for war uses. In 1902, it is proposed, the line shall be ready for a through passenger and freight service from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock and Port Arthur by way of the growing towns in the fertile section of Central Siberia. Already there has been a great spur to immigration into Siberia as a result of the possibilities of the situation developed by the portion of the road so far completed. Several hundred thousand Russians emigrate there every year, besides a not inconsiderable number of fortune seekers from other parts of the world. Siberia is a fine wheat country and contains an almost inexhaustible store of minerals beneath her soil. Except in the extreme northern portion, the climate is suitable for outdoor work. The railroad has been the making of the country. To aid in removing the stain from Siberia's reputation, the czar has decreed the end of banishment to that country as a penalty. Numerous branches are being constructed or projected as ramifications from the central line of rails extending through Siberia, and

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this will facilitate the purposes both of peace and of war.

The Trans-Caspian system of railways, stretching through central Asia by way of the Caspian sea and connecting with Moscow and St. Petersburg, is perhaps destined to be even greater in its influence on the continent than the Siberian system. Already it is completed almost to the border of Mongolia. If Russia gets fixed possession of northern and central China, she proposes to extend this line right through the heart of the Chinese empire to Pekin, thus paralleling the Siberian railroad about 800 miles to the south and making a more nearly direct and a shorter route from Europe to Pekin.

While the Siberian railroad may be said to be the Czar's eye in watching China, it is through the Trans-Caspian system that he watches Persia, Afghanistan and India. Rails are laid to Kuskh, on the northern border of Afghanistan, 50 miles from Herat, and a supply of them is kept constantly ready at Kuskh to extend the line to Herat in a few days when the emergency comes. It is through this gateway that Russia proposes to invade India, if at all.

Though China is networked with railway projects, few of them have yet reached the stage of actual realization. The lines in operation up to the time of the present crisis may be described as follows:

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	Miles.
Imperial Chinese railway, extending from Pekin east and northeast via Tientsin and Tongku, on the Gulf of Pechili, to a connection with the Port Arthur line	367
Branches	40
Belgian Line—From near Pekin southwest to Paoting	78
Branch	10
Total track	495

The principal lines for which concessions have been secured or were recently being sought may be described as follows, the proposed mileage being estimated in round numbers:

	Miles.
Chinese Eastern Railway—From Port Arthur to the Russian boundary, for a connection with the Trans-Siberian Railway (Chinese-Russian)	1,000
Branch to Vladivostock	400
Extension from Kinchau north	100
Pekin-Hankau Line (Belgian)	700
Hankow-Canton Line (American)	700
Tientsin-Shanghai Line (German)	700
Shanghai-Hongkong-Canton project (British)	900
Shanghai to Nanking, etc. (British)	200
Chengtoo, capital of province of Szechuan, to Canton Line	800
Canton west to the Burmah boundary (to connect with British-Indian system via Mandalay and Calcutta)	1,000
East and west lines in western coal and iron regions (British, American and Italian)	500
South China—Several projects (French)	500
Total	7,500

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Ample American capital is backing the proposed road which is to connect Hankau with Canton. In connection with the line from Pekin to Hankau and with those stretching north of Pekin, it will form a continuous route from St. Petersburg to Canton. A preliminary survey for this road was completed in 1899. Hankau is one of the largest and busiest cities in China. It contains more than a million inhabitants, and is situated on the great Yangtzekiang, 500 miles above Shanghai, which is at the river's mouth. Belgian capital, which is believed to be associated with Russian, is behind the Pekin-Hankau project.

The railway-political moves have also extended to Asia Minor. Roughly speaking, the Sultan has granted to the Germans a railway "sphere" in Western Asia Minor, and to the Russians similar privileges in the Eastern section. Both the German and Russian lines in that quarter are partly constructed and are expected to play a big part when the time for the division of the Turkish dominions comes. The czar's latest scheme is for a railway through Persia to Bunder-Abbās, on the Persian gulf.

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CHAPTER VI.

Four Notable Characters in China:—The Empress Dowager, The Emperor, Li Hung Chang and Kang Yu Wei.

LIKE Elizabeth of England and Catherine of Russia, Tzi-hsi, dowager empress of China, rules millions of subjects as one born to rule. The influence of her strong personality is felt around the whole world. All who come in contact with her admit the powerful grasp of her mind, commanding the most intricate details of the government of her immense empire and the schemes, ambitions and methods of the world-powers that seek to appropriate it for their own. Diplomats who have had their selfish projects thwarted by her deep penetration and vigor of decision and action, have expressed some uncomplimentary opinions about her. Correspondents, magazine writers, and historians, belonging to nations which are none too friendly to China, have painted her character from their own points of view. But all, whatever demerits they ascribe to her, join in bearing witness to the fact that she is one of the most remarkable women of her time.

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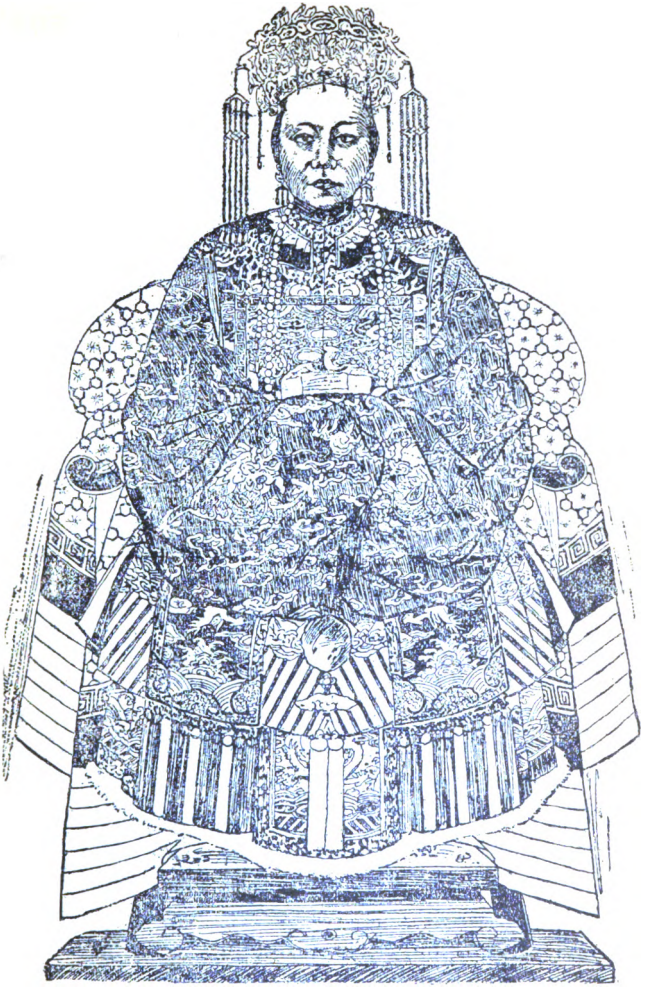

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER OF CHINA.
(From a Chinese water color.)

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Tzi-hsi is a masterful woman. Though she listens to her advisers, she acts on her own resolutions, dominating by the force of her personality the princes and mandarins of the palace. She is a patriot through and through. As Elizabeth was English to the core and Catherine Russian, so is Tzi-hsi a Chinese in every fibre of her being. She typifies in herself the character of her country's people. Reverencing the past in the same spirit in which she worships her ancestors, she would keep China for the Chinese and preserve its historic civilization forever. The future may prove that her policy was short-sighted. At least it can be said that she was consistent in it and pursued it with a vigor little short of marvellous.

The reign of Tzi-hsi has fallen on troublous times. The steamship and the railway have brought the outer world at China's doors, and the cry of the foreigner is for the possession of the ancient empire. The keenest wits among Europe's diplomats have been matched against that of Tzi-hsi. Bent by nature only on the administration of her own dominion, she has been compelled to make foreign relations a daily problem. It was an ordeal from which a man might have shrunk. To match intellects with the world was a task to appall. But Tzi-hsi has met the situation boldly and if her cause goes down she will go with it.

This remarkable woman is now 63 years old. She is the daughter of a mandarin, but became an

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attendant—practically a slave—in the palace of Emperor Hien Fung. In youth she was beautiful and her charms fascinated the Celestial monarch. She became one of his wives and her career was made. Politics was her delight and at last she could influence the mind of the Emperor himself.

Hien Fung died in 1861 and Tzi-hsi took another step upward. Her son, the boy emperor, was then but six years old. She and Tzi-An, the two principal widows of Hien Fung, were proclaimed joint regents. They governed until 1873, when the boy emperor came of age according to Chinese law. But Tzi-hsi's absence from power was brief, for her son, Emperor Tung-che, died two years later and she contrived to grasp again the reins she had laid down. She and Tzi-An once more assumed the regency, ignoring the claims of Ah-lu-te, widow of Tung-che. The death of Ah-lu-te soon occurred, and was ascribed to suicide. Some have charged that she was poisoned by the ambitious Tzi-hsi, but proof in such a case is naturally lacking and the stories of the alleged murder were largely of foreign origin.

There being no heir to the throne after the death of Tung-Che, the selection of a ruler, under Chinese custom, devolved upon the head of the imperial family. The two empresses, by decree, announced that their choice was Tsai Tien, then—in 1875—only four years old. Each emperor of China always assumes a new name on being elevated to the throne.

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KUANG HSU,
EMPEROR OF CHINA.

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The name bestowed on Tsai Tien was Kuang Hsu, and he it is who is the present emperor of China.

In 1881 Tzi-An died and then Tzi-hsi became sole ruler. Here was the realization of her dream. Her power was supreme and there was none to say her nay. She bent her energy to reorganizing her court and to the internal development of China, lopping off foreign innovations here and there, and going back to the revered customs of the forefathers.

Kuang Hsu came of age in 1889, after the empress dowager had reigned alone eight years. The dowager nominally retired, but was still regarded as the real ruler of China. Her influence was repeatedly made manifest in edicts which the young emperor admitted having issued under her instructions. For a time the emperor submitted to her dictation without question. Then occurred a clash and he came off second best.

Though they had gotten along so agreeably for years, there was a radical difference between the bent of the dowager and the young emperor. She was a conservative, he a reformer; she was strong in mind and body, he was lacking in aggressiveness and a prey to ill health; she was ambitious and determined, he was modest and given to concession. In the early part of the decade just passed, reformers began to surround the young emperor. They had learned from Japan and were anxious for China to emulate the ways of the west. The emperor

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finally became a full pledged reformer. He proposed to remodel China. The younger literati and mandarins ardently espoused his cause. A number of influential merchants in the provinces and not a few high officials at Pekin joined in. The conservatives were in great alarm. To whom could they turn but to their leader who had sat on the throne, the powerful dowager Tzi-hsi? She was willing to lead again.

Once more did Tzi-hsi assert her old influence over the emperor whom she had governed in childhood. So completely did she gain the ascendancy that on September 22, 1898, she openly took the reins of power in pursuance of an edict issued in the emperor's name declaring his lack of capacity and begging her to assume control. Six of the men who had been prominent in supporting his schemes of reform were beheaded. Kang Yu Wei, the most active and prominent of them all, escaped to Hong Kong. A price of $50,000 was put on his head, but he managed to keep out of range of the dowager's wrath.

Tzi-hsi was now in complete control, but she was not content even then. She wanted not only to rule China while she lived, but to select the heir to the throne. Light is thrown upon her remarkable ascendancy over the emperor by the following edict issued in January of the present year announcing the selection of the heir, the edict being promulgated over the emperor's own name:

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"While yet in our infancy we were by grace of the Emperor Tung-Che chosen to succeed him in the heavy responsibilities of head of the whole Empire, and when his Majesty died we sought day and night to be deserving of such kindness by energy and faithfulness in our duties. We were also indebted to the Empress Dowager, who taught and cherished us assiduously, and to her we owe our safety to the present day. Now, be it also known that when we were selected to the throne it was then agreed that if ever we should have a son, that son should be proclaimed heir to the throne. But ever since last year [1898] we have been constantly ill, and it was for this reason that, in the eighth month of that year, the Empress Dowager graciously acceded to our urgent prayers, and took over the reins of government in order to instruct us in our duties. A year has now passed, and still we find ourselves an invalid, but ever keeping in our mind that we do not belong to the direct line of succession, and that, for the sake of the safety of the Empire of our ancestors, a legal heir should be selected to the throne, we again prayed the Empress Dowager to carefully choose from amongst the members of the Imperial Clan such a one; and this she has done in the person of Pu Chun, son of Tsai Yi, Prince Tuan. We hereby command accordingly that Pu Chun, the son of Tsai Yi, Prince Tuan, be made heir to the late Emperor Tung-Che."

It has been charged that the dowager is in sympathy with the boxers, and that to her was due the fact that they were not suppressed at the inception of their organization. As far as sympathizing with the general proposition of holding China for the Chinese is concerned, this is doubtless true. That she has gone further and connived at massacres and outlawry will be difficult to prove. No official act of the Chinese government, which she actively directs, can as yet be cited in support of this charge.

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The story of the dowager empress' life, as just narrated, is so interwoven with the brief career of Emperor Kuang Hsu that little remains to be told of him. He is now 29 years old. Of his personal appearance Col. Charles Denby, late United States minister to China, said that he was small and delicate looking, but that his eye was keen and he seemed bright and intelligent. An English official who was present at one of the rare imperial audiences to foreigners thus describes the sovereign:

"His air is one of exceeding intelligence and gentleness, somewhat frightened and melancholy looking. His face is pale, and though it is distinguished by refinement and quiet dignity it has none of the force of his martial ancestors, nothing commanding or imperial. He is essentially Manchu in feature, his face oval-shaped, with a long, narrow chin."

Kuang Hsu's marriage, which took place in 1889, was a magnificent ceremonial and is said to have cost over $5,000,000. The dowager empress even carried her control over him to the extent of selecting his bride. The conditions were simple. It was not necessary for the bride to be of princely blood, but she must be of a Manchu family. The choice fell upon Yeh-ho-na-lao, niece of the dowager and daughter of Knei Hsiang, a Manchu general. She was selected from among several hundred candidates, who were summoned to the palace and inspected by the dowager and high court digni-

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taries. As previously stated, there has been no issue of this marriage.

And now a few words as to China's "grand old man." General Grant's oft-quoted remark that the only three men he met in his trip around the world who impressed him as truly great were Bismarck, Gladstone and Li Hung Chang affords a clue to the estimation in which the greatest of China's statesmen is held. At this moment, though he is 82 years old, his native country turns to him and he has been summoned from his highly important post as viceroy of Canton to proceed to Pekin and consult with the empress dowager as to the best way of restoring unhappy China to the peace that once prevailed. He has held, next to the throne, supreme power in China longer than any other man in the present century. In an extraordinary degree he has impressed the force of his character upon the people of the west.

Vigor in mind and body are combined in Li Hung Chang. He is six feet two inches tall, a height seldom reached by Chinamen, though in general they are by no means a small race. He wears a beard, one of the few things which the average Chinaman envies the Caucasian. Abstemious in his habits, he has preserved good health through a long life filled with work that might break down many a younger man.

A conservative when judged by Western standards, Li is vigorously progressive according to

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the view of the Chinese. He is tolerant toward missionaries and an ardent believer in modern methods so long as they are compatible with the peculiar character of Chinese civilization. More than any other Chinamen he understands the spirit of the Caucasian peoples.

Li was born in South China of a good family. He studied indefatigably in youth and passed the civil service examinations with credit. The Taeping rebellion, a great upheaval in China, which is described in a separate chapter and which lasted from 1850 to 1864, first brought him into notable prominence. In the early sixties he had risen to be governor of the province of Kiang-Su, in which Shanghai is situated, and it was there that the rebellion reached one of its most active phases. He was the directing authority in the movements which, with "Chinese" Gordon as the military leader, resulted in the final overthrow of the Taepings. Without detracting in any way from the credit due to Gordon as a soldier and a man, it is fair to Li Hung Chang to say that his administrative genius contributed in marked degree to the final success of the imperial cause. He even took the field himself at one time and showed soldierly qualities of a high order.

In 1870 Li was promoted to be viceroy of Pechili, the metropolitan province of China. For 24 years he remained in this position, becoming the guiding statesman of the realm and holding office

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in the Grand Secretariat at Pekin. It was a critical time for his country. Foreigners were pressing her on every side, demanding concessions and seeking to introduce radical innovations. Li yielded to them in many things, adopting some of their ideas as an improvement, but guarding the venerated civilization of China from rude shock and upheaval. A maxim which he laid down was: "Let us use foreigners, but do not let foreigners use us." He was quick to see the advantages of railroads and so far overcame the opposition to them at the palace that he was permitted to build some of them himself. He established telegraph lines, opened and developed coal mines, founded academies for training military and naval officers, constructed arsenals and fortifications, and bought modern warships. The intense conservatism of the Chinese system prevented him from reorganizing the army and navy as rapidly and successfully as Japan did, but he accomplished a great deal in that line.

The war with Japan broke his power temporarily. The palace at Pekin expected Li to win, though it had blocked some of his most practical plans for developing the empire's war forces. When Japan began to gain victories, he was rapidly stripped of his honors. His jacket of yellow, the royal color, which he had been permitted to wear as a great mark of distinction, was taken from him, as were also his peacock feather and other decora-

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tions. Finally he was superseded in all of his offices and went into temporary retirement.

When China at last saw that Japan had won, Li was called out again and sent to negotiate the treaty of peace. China, in her crisis, could not do without him. Though wounded by a would-be assassin at the outset of his negotiations, he recovered and acted as China's representative throughout the framing of the treaty, the crafty Marquis Ito representing Japan. These two intellects were a good match when pitted against each other. Li, by his diplomatic finesse, was enabled to get exceptionally good terms for his country, but the concessions he made offended Pekin's pride and at the conclusion of the treaty he was again sent into retirement. Foreign representatives at Pekin persuaded the government to accept the treaty as the best arrangement that could be made under the circumstances. Li remained in retirement until the coronation of the Czar, when he was sent to St. Petersburg as China's representative. He made a tour of the world, visiting the United States in 1896 and creating great interest in this country. Many of his witty remarks were widely quoted. He had a great habit of asking questions and gained vastly more information than he gave during his visit.

A decade ago Li was considered the richest man in the world, but it is said that some of the South African Crœsuses have surpassed him. His wealth has been estimated as high as $500,000,000, but he

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takes good care not to let even the approximate extent of it be authentically known. He has made part of it in railroads and mines, and for years was in receipt of great emoluments from the Pekin government. Extraordinary natural ability in finance has enabled him to make his money multiply itself. He has been accused of receiving pay from foreign governments for services he rendered them as a Chinese official, but this, of course, cannot be proven.

Kang Yu Wei, the leading reformer of China, is in many respects one of the most interesting characters of the empire. Though born of humble parents, his unusual intelligence and energy won him the confidence and esteem of Emperor Kuang Hsu. It was he who chiefly encouraged in the young monarch the dreams of reform. He even persuaded the emperor to issue a series of radical edicts, establishing the right of petition and the freedom of the press. In coöperation with a Presbyterian missionary in Pekin, he published a paper called *Chinese Progress* which was the avowed advocate of an era of reform.

We have already seen how the dowager empress put an end to all this by resuming the reins of power. One cause of Kang Yu Wei's downfall was his enmity to Russia. His influence is said to have been responsible for the granting of Wei Hai Wei to England soon after Russia leased Port Arthur. He threw himself into the breach in

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opposition to many Russian plans, and the enmity of the Czar's representative at Pekin contributed in no small measure to his undoing.

When the dowager resumed power in 1898, Kang Yu Wei was warned by the young emperor and Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Minister at Pekin, to flee for his life. He took the hint and escaped on a ship from Tientsin to Hong Kong, where he was in British territory. Both there and in Japan, to which country he went later, several attempts were made upon his life and he was forced to disguise himself with a false beard. Taking ship for Vancouver, B. C., he went by rail to Washington and then took a trip to some of the capitals of Europe, carefully avoiding St. Petersburg. In October last he returned to Japan and then went to Singapore, where he was in July of the present year. Kang Yu Wei hopes that a turn of the wheel of fate will yet permit him to return to China and see the realization of his dreams of reform. He is now about 45 years old.

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CHAPTER VII.

The Era of Foreign Interference.

THE era of foreign interference in China may be said to have begun with the so-called "opium war" waged by the English in 1839–42. Previous to that time, and indeed, until 1861, all attempts to open regular diplomatic relations with the emperors proved abortive. When Catherine of Russia sent a mission to suggest to Emperor Keen Lung the desirability of maintaining a regular Russian agent at Pekin the emperor was so affronted that he refused to receive the envoy. China had no desire to mix in the affairs of the outside world. She considered that within the borders of the empire was sufficient for her and she would exact from Europe and America the same policy of non-interference which she practiced with them.

England had tried with indifferent success to open intercourse with the court of Pekin. In 1792 she sent out the notable Macartney mission, headed by Lord Macartney, a peer of considerable tact and ability. This mission was received by Keen Lung at his hunting lodge at Jehol, a small town north of the Great Wall. Keen Lung

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was cordial in his greeting, but could be drawn into no promises regarding future concessions to be granted to England.

Right here it is well to take into account that the first foreigners to gain a foothold in China were missionaries. The first of these missionaries were a small body of Jesuits from France, who arrived at Pekin in the latter part of the seventeenth century. These poineers were especially selected for their piety, high attainments and tact. Emperor Kanghi, who was then on the throne, found that their knowledge of astronomy and natural science was beyond that of his country's sages. He agreed that they should remain in Pekin, seeing in their learning a means of improving his own empire, but he compelled them to promise that they would never return to Europe.

For many years these Jesuits were denied the privilege of publicly practicing their religion. But in season and out of season, with equal tact and persistence, they continued to claim this boon. At last, in 1692, the tribunal of rites at Pekin gave a decision in their favor which has passed into history as the great charter of Christianity's rights in China.

Emperor Kanghi was attracted to the Jesuits in no small degree by their medicinal skill. Soon after the tribunal of rites had declared that Christians might publicly practice their religion in China he fell ill, and the Jesuits saved his life after his

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own doctors had given up all hope. As a mark of gratitude the emperor presented to them a site for a church near his own palace and a considerable sum of money toward the cost of erecting the building.

As the case stood, these early missionaries were merely enjoying the favor of an enlightened ruler and the mass of the Chinese people was strongly averse to any spread of their faith. But with the zeal of apostles the Jesuits worked for its extension. Even Kanghi himself, in his later years, took alarm at the unexpected success of the propaganda and issued an edict putting some restrictions on it. Nevertheless the new faith grew steadily and with the development of missionary effort by the Protestant churches there was an influx of these advance agents of Christianity to China. Unfortunately the missionaries injured their own cause by disagreeing among themselves owing to differences in dogma. But the new faith had taken root too firm to be uptorn.

The saying that "the trader follows the missionary" was strikingly exemplified. Dutch, English and Portuguese vessels began to develop a thriving trade with the port of Canton and here again the suspicions and aversions of the Chinese were aroused. Especially was the idea of trade by sea with foreign nations repugnant to the Pekin authorities. They were willing to consent to the conduct of an overland trade on a limited scale with Russia and formally acquiesced in such an arrangement at an

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interview with an envoy sent by Peter the Great in 1719. But the idea of a large commerce on the seacoast was especially dreaded on account of the fact that foreign saliors, more reckless and perhaps less scrupulous than the caravan leaders, frequently disregarded the Chinese regulations imposed on commerce and sought to terrorize the local Chinese authorities.

When Emperor Keen Lung ascended the throne in 1735 China in all her history of 4300 years had made but one treaty with a foreign power, and that with Russia. The Russians, semi-Asiatics themselves, have always understood the Chinese better than any other power. A frontier collision had occurred on the Amur river, but it soon dwindled down to the stage of negotiations, the governments of St. Petersburg and Pekin having been friendly all the while. In 1688 the treaty of Nerchinsk—China's first formal agreement with any foreign power—settled the whole question, the Russians, with characteristically practical pertinacity, agreeing to the destruction of one of their forts, provided they were permitted to build another in an equally advantageous location.

It was in 1802 when China first awoke to the real designs of the Europeans. Macao, an important district in Southeastern China, had been held by the Portuguese for some years, being rented from the Pekin government by the payment of an annual sum. The Napoleonic wars plunged all Europe into

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complications, and in 1802 an English squadron seized Macao, remaining in forcible possession of it for a year. The treaty of Amiens provided for its restoration to Portugal; but six years later the English again seized it. This thoroughly aroused the Chinese. They saw that European nations had no scruples in violating China's territorial rights when it served their own purposes. Strict orders were sent from Pekin to Canton to expel the foreigners at all costs.

The British government here became responsible for what is admitted to have been a serious blunder. When the Chinese in 1808 protested against the renewed occupation of Macao, Admiral Drury, the English naval commander on the scene, attempted to act in a summary manner. He said he would bring the Chinese officials at Canton to their senses, "for there is nothing in my instructions to prevent me from going to war with the Emperor of China." So he started to sail up the river to Canton with the avowed intention of forcing his way to the city. But he found that the Chinese had assembled a large fleet of war junks, and had planted a formidable force of cannon on the shore. When Drury came in sight of these defenses he hesitated, then sent a note asking a conference with the mandarin, which note was unanswered, and finally he beat a retreat. His conduct was doubly unfortunate, for it not only strengthened the suspicions of the Chinese as to European intentions but also gave them an exag-

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gerated belief in their own strength against the modern nations.

The government at London was determined to maintain and enlarge an opening for its trade in China. A mission to Pekin was decided upon, and Lord Amherst was sent. He arrived at the mouth of the Peiho river in 1816. Proceeding to Pekin, he was informed immediately upon his arrival, after the journey of 78 miles from Tientsin, that the Emperor would see him at once. Instead of taking advantage of this opportunity, Lord Amherst sent word that he was not then prepared for the interview, pleading the fatigue of his party and the delay in the arrival of their uniforms and the presents for the monarch. The Emperor, in a rage, ordered that Amherst and those who accompanied him should be sent back to the coast at once. Thus ignominiously ended the British mission of 1816.

China serenely pursued her own course until 1834, from which year date the immediate causes leading up to the opium war. Up to that time British trade with China had remained, by royal charter, a monopoly of the East India Company, but now the government at London took the trade into its own hands. The East India Company understood the Chinese better than the political authorities of the British capital. The company had made mistakes, but had managed to build up a large commerce by following the safe policy of complying with Chinese methods and local regula-

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tions. London was determined to batter down the Chinese barrier, no matter what the cost. And we will see how this led to bloody wars.

In 1834 a royal commission was gazetted, appointing Lord Napier chief superintendent of trade with China. Lord Napier set out for Canton and sent a letter to the viceroy announcing his arrival in July of the same year. The letter was returned unopened, it being held that Lord Napier's business was properly with the Hoppo, in charge of the local trade and customs service. Had the viceroy received his letter it would have given him a diplomatic status. Lord Napier was advised to remain at Macao until he had applied in the prescribed form for permission to proceed up the river. He disregarded these intimations and boldly went to Canton without them, only to find himself isolated in the English factory as soon as he had landed. The Chinese declared that their nation's dignity was at stake and all intercourse with the English was prohibited.

So Napier found himself in the attitude of breaking off the very trade with China which it was his duty to promote. He remained isolated in Canton, writing frequent letters to the mandarins defending his own course and protesting against theirs. At last the English traders, suffering in pocket from the prohibition enforced against them, begged Napier to retire from Canton to Macao so that commerce might be resumed. Napier, having begun his career

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in China aggressively, ended it tamely. He yielded to the importunities and retired to Macao, the Chinese thus being enabled to claim another humiliation for the English. Soon after his return to Macao, Napier, who had long been in ill health, died.

Once more trade between the English and Chinese merchants and sailors was resumed. The Chinese gradually forgot Napier's conduct and in 1837 Captain Elliott, who had been appointed the new British superintendent of trade, received authority to proceed to Canton.

The importation of opium from India by British traders had grown by this time to large proportions and the Chinese nation was suffering from its effects. The use of the drug assumed the proportions of a national vice and the government at Pekin became alarmed. In its opposition to the opium traffic it had the practically united support of the most intelligent Chinese, who saw in the increasing imports a grave national danger. The board of censors at Pekin and the learned men of the Hanlin college drew up a number of petitions to the throne setting forth in detail their reasons for urging an absolute prohibition of the opium traffic. Proclamations were issued prohibiting the use of opium and providing severe penalties. Meanwhile the British continued to smuggle the drug into the country, finding the traffic extremely profitable. Canton was the chief seaport for these importations.

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In January, 1839, Emperor Taoukuang, who had succeeded Kiaking on the throne, ordered Lin Tsihsen, viceroy of the province of Houkuang, to proceed to Canton and report on the opium traffic, with suggestions for the best methods of stopping it. Commissioner Lin was instructed "to cut off the fountain of evil and if necessary for the attainment of his object, to sink his ships, for the indignation of the great emperor has been fairly aroused at these wicked practices (the buying and selling of opium) and the hourly thought of his heart is to do away with them forever."

Serious friction ensued with Captain Elliott at Canton and he made a concession by publicly warning all British subjects to discontinue the illicit opium trade, also declaring that his government would make no objection if the Chinese authorities should seize and destroy the illicit drug. But the importations continued, and Commissioner Lin finally demanded that all stores of opium at Canton be delivered to him within twenty days. Chinese troops surrounded the British settlement and Captain Elliott called upon the traders, for the paramount considerations of safety to their lives and property, to hand over their opium. More than 20,000 chests, valued at $10,000,000, were delivered to Commissioner Lin, who destroyed this huge stock of the crude material for vice and then wrote a letter to Queen Victoria asking her to interdict the opium trade forever.

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The destruction of the opium did not stop the traffic. Fresh stocks were procured and smuggled to the Chinese. Commissioner Lin became threatening again and declared that he would expell all the English from Canton if necessary. Captain Elliott saw that a clash was approaching and asked his home government for protection.

Fights between English and Chinese in the streets of Canton became frequent, and soon, to avoid being made the victims of a popular outbreak, the English retired to Hong Kong. Everything was ripe for hostilities on a large scale. Two English men-of-war had several conflicts with forts near Canton, and on November 3, 1839, they engaged in battle with a fleet of 29 Chinese junks off Chuenpee. The Chinese fought with desperate bravery, but were defeated.

A British expedition consisting of 15 men-of-war and 4000 troops on transports arrived at the mouth of the Canton river in June, 1840. The river was blockaded and the island of Chusan was seized after a bloody fight. Abandoning the Canton river for a time, the fleet sailed north for the mouth of the Peiho to bear a letter from Lord Palmerston, the English premier, to the Chinese government which, it was hoped, would result in a settlement without further bloodshed. Lord Palmerston's letter was accepted by Keshen, the viceroy of Pechili, and forwarded to Pekin. Then the fleet returned to Canton.

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Commissioner Lin had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor by failing to make a stronger showing against the English in the conflict of arms and Keshen was sent to supersede him at Canton. No answer to Lord Palmerston being received, the English proceeded to capture all the outer forts of Canton, killing 500 Chinese and sustaining but slight loss themselves. Keshen, moved by this reverse, signed an agreement in 1841, ceding Hong Kong to the English, providing for the payment of an indemnity and authorizing the British government to hold official communication with Pekin. This displeased the Emperor and he deposed Keshen, sending Eleang to supplant him. Eleang refused to ratify the agreement made with Keshen and the war was resumed.

The English bombarded and captured the inner forts of Canton but the Chinese collected troops from the interior and made a number of stands, suffering defeat in every case. They had plenty of bravery, but lacked modern weapons and drill. The campaign was extended to Amoy, Ningpo and other important cities, the Chinese, in some cases, killing their wives and children and afterwards committing suicide to avoid falling into the hands of the English. Chapoo, Shanghai and Chinkiang-foo were captured in succession.

Emperor Taoukuang at last saw the hopelessness of further resistance and in August, 1842, the treaty of Nankin was signed. It was agreed that the

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English should be confirmed in the possession of Hong Kong, that an indemnity of $21,000,000 including the price of the destroyed opium, should be paid and that Canton, Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuchau and Amoy should be open for trade. Not a word about opium was said in the treaty, and the traffic was resumed. Sir Henry Pottinger, who conducted the negotiations on behalf of England, failed to obtain the assent of the Chinese government to a legalization of the traffic and he refused to undertake the responsibility of a preventive service in China.

Friction between the foreigners and Chinese was by no means ended. The increasing demands of the Europeans and the resentment of the Chinese led to frequent clashes at Canton, which were increased by the efforts of the English to obtain more commercial concessions than had been granted by the treaty of Nankin. In October, 1856, an incident at Canton precipitated China's second foreign war. This incident was the seizure of the crew of the sailing vessel Arrow in Canton harbor. The boat had registered in the British office at Hong Kong but was not at the moment entitled to the protection of the British flag, through the neglect of her captain to renew the license. The Chinese seized twelve men on board the ship on suspicion that they were connected with piracy. At the demand of the British consul, nine of the men were released, but three were held, one as the

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principal and the other two as important witnesses of the crime. The British flag which flew over the boat was hauled down by the Chinese.

With but slight delay war was begun by the British, as the Chinese refused to make what was considered full reparation for the insult to the English flag. The Chinese maintained that the English were merely seeking a pretext for war. Sir Michael Seymour, with a fleet, attacked the forts near Canton and dismantled them. The city itself was captured but the English did not have a force large enough to occupy it effectively and abandoned it. When they left, the Chinese returned and took revenge by burning the foreign settlement. Sir Michael Seymour sent a request to London for 5000 troops and these were promptly sent. Lord Elgin was dispatched as special envoy to present to the Chinese government the demands of England, which were as follows:

(1) Reparation for injuries to British subjects.

(2) The complete enforcement at Canton and the other treaty ports of the treaty stipulations.

(3) Compensation to British subjects and persons entitled to British protection, for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances.

(4) The assent of the Chinese government to the residence at Pekin, or to the occasional visit to that capital, at the option of the British government, of a minister duly accredited by the Queen to the Emperor of China, and recognition of the right of

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the British plenipotentiary and the chief British superintendent of Chinese trade to communicate directly in writing with the high officers at the Chinese capital.

(5) Revision of the treaties with China with a view to obtaining increased facilities for commerce.

Before the arrival of Lord Elgin there was a terrific conflict with a Chinese fleet of 72 junks on the Canton river, sheltered by the guns of shore fortifications. Sir Michael Seymour won a brilliant success, though several of his vessels were destroyed. His loss was 13 men killed and 40 wounded. The Chinese loss was much heavier.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Elgin at Hong Kong, Baron Gros, representing France, went to China with similar demands. France, too, wanted an extension of trade relations with China by sea and she sent ships and men to co-operate with the English. This united force attacked the city of Canton by storm and captured it, with a loss of 97 men to the English and 34 to the French.

Canton being once more in foreign possession, it was decided that Lord Elgin and Baron Gros should go to Pekin and present their demands. The allied fleets sailed for the mouth of the Peiho river in May, 1858, and summoned the commander of the Taku forts to surrender. No reply being received, the forts were attacked and captured. The ambassadors proceeded up the river to Tientsin, which they made their temporary headquarters.

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Commissioners were sent from Pekin to Tientsin to treat for peace and an agreement was drawn up, but this appeared to be only a ruse by the Chinese to gain time.

In the negotiations at Tientsin the question of the opium traffic—still a tender point with China —came up. It was agreed that opium might be imported into China on payment of a duty equivalent to about $50 a chest. Sir Henry Pottinger, who had been as actively concerned as any one in the controversies with China on this subject, said:

"By the most unbiased and careful observations I have become convinced during my stay in China that the alleged demoralizing and debasing evils of opium have been and are vastly exaggerated. Like all other indulgences, excesses in its use are bad and reprehensible; but I have neither myself seen such vicious consequences as are frequently ascribed to it, nor have I been able to obtain authentic proof of their existence. The great and perhaps I might say sole objection to the trade, looking at it morally. is that it is at present contraband and prohibited by the laws of China and therefore to be regretted and disavowed."

Mr. Frederick Bruce, a brother of Lord Elgin, was instructed to proceed to Pekin and exchange the ratifications of the treaty. It was soon found, however, that the Chinese, instead of looking forward to peace, were preparing for renewed and energetic resistance. England lost no time in acting,

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A fleet under Admiral Hope was sent to the mouth of the Peiho and, instead of finding the way open, the river was barred with iron stakes. The Taku forts had been reoccupied by Chinese troops, and were bristling with cannon.

On June 25, 1859, another attack on the forts began. It was this battle which gave to the world the famous phrase "Blood is thicker than water." Admiral Hope was attacking the forts when the tide went down and left his ships helpless in the mud, under the fire of the Chinese smoothbores.

Captain Tatnall, the flag officer commanding the United States China Squadron, which was anchored off the bar nominally guarding American interests, perceived the plight of the British Admiral. Exclaiming "blood is thicker than water," he lowered his barge and with his flag lieutenant and twenty men rowed up the river to show the Englishman how to point his guns. The flag lieutenant, Stephen Decatur Trenchard, was badly wounded, and one man in the barge was killed in passing through the fire from the forts. Once on board, however, the British guns were so well served by Americans that the forts were silenced and Tatnall himself piloted the British vessels by a channel he had discovered until they found protection in the fleet outside.

The attack on the forts was a failure and the English lost 300 killed and wounded. Their fleet returned to Hong Kong to await the arrival of more ships and fresh instructions from Europe.

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A plan of united action was agreed upon in November, 1859, between France and England, and another expeditionary force was sent out. England appointed Sir Hope Grant to command its land forces of 13,000 men, and France's troops, numbering 8,000, were commanded by General Montauban. Admiral Hope was retained at the head of the English fleet. A renewed attack on the Taku forts was successful, the Chinese fighting with great bravery and losing at least 500 killed. The next step was the capture of Tientsin, where the Chinese made but slight resistance. Then followed a march to Pekin. The Chinese gave battle in force at Chan-chia-wan, but were defeated. On October 13, 1860, the allies entered Pekin and the mutual ratifications of the treaty of Tientsin followed. China had reached the end of her resistance.

Mr. Bruce was given charge of British affairs in Pekin as resident minister in March, 1861, and thus for the first time, China opened regular diplomatic relations with a foreign country. Other nations than England sent ministers later, and the permanent character of the diplomatic corps at the capital was established. For seven years China refrained from sending any ambassador to represent her at a foreign court. The increasing need of this became apparent if a diplomatic corps was to be retained at Pekin, and in 1868 Mr. Anson Burlingame, who then retired as United States minister at Pekin,

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accepted an appointment as the accredited representative of the Chinese government to eleven of the principal countries of the world. Mr. Burlingame died at St. Petersburg in 1870, and then the present practice of sending native Chinese diplomats abroad was begun.

Still another step was taken in 1862, when several British subjects were appointed to assist the Chinese government in the collection of customs dues at the treaty ports. In the following year Sir Robert Hart was appointed Chinese imperial director of maritime customs, and he still holds that office, being one of the chief financial officers of China.

French aggressions in Tonkin, over which country China exercised suzerainty, led to a brief war between France and China in 1883, and there was also trouble with Russia in fixing the frontiers of Central Asia. These difficulties were such as any nation might have, and did not result in any radical change in Chinese policy. They served, however, to show that the territorial aggressiveness of the European powers was not to abate.

The war with Japan, in 1894–95, is described in a separate chapter. More than any other conflict in which China has been engaged it was marked by events ominous to the future integrity of the empire.

The "sphere of influence" theory comes now to be considered. France, by reason of contiguous interests, claims a preponderance or "sphere" in Southern China, the region bordering on Tonkin and Anam. England presents the same claim to

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the fertile valley of the Yangtzekiang, where her immense trade interests in China are chiefly situated. Germany claims the province of Shantung, south-east of Pekin, with perhaps part of the territory west of Shantung. Russia claims North China, including Manchuria and Mongolia.

Up to 1899, England's sphere of influence was not recognized by Russia nor Russia's by England. On April 28 of that year the two governments entered into an arrangement on this point. They declared that they were animated by a sincere desire to avoid in China every cause of conflict, and that, taking into consideration the economic and geographical position of certain parts of the empire, they entered into the following arrangement: Russia was not to demand railway concessions in the basin of the Yangtzekiang and was not to oppose any demands made by England for concessions in that region. England, on her part, made the same engagement in regard to the portion of China lying north of the great wall. An assurance was given that the two powers had no intention of encroaching upon the sovereign rights of China, but of course this "intention" is subject to change.

The seizure of Port Arthur and Talienwan by Russia, of Wei Hai Wei by England and of Kiaochau by Germany, together with the Italian demand for San Mun Bay, are described in the chapter on the war with Japan, of which conflict they were practically direct outgrowths.

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CHAPTER VIII.

History of China at a Glance.

CHINA'S history, as all the world knows, is a long one, and it has also been a glorious one. The country has had its internal commotions, its periods of good or bad government, its epochs of industrial depression and religious excitement. But it is doubtful if any European nation, balancing the account as a whole, has been able to accomplish so much as China has done in the way of peace, comfort, security and material development for a large population.

Comparatively few of China's rulers have been cruel and arbitrary. As there is no hereditary class distinction, the exploitation of one element of the population by another has been reduced to the lowest limits. Many of the emperors have been practical philanthropists and, burdened by a sense of humility inspired by their exalted office, have striven by every means in their power to elevate and protect their people. Though the Chinaman has all the qualifications of a soldier, he prefers peace to war and his progress has been chiefly along the line of industrial and literary effort. For this reason a population now estimated at 400,000,000

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is maintained in a normally healthy economic state, with food, raiment, culture and promotion to the highest positions in reach of the humblest who may strive for them.

The usual date given for the beginning of China's history as a nation is about 2500 B. C. Today we have the strange spectacle of a people speaking the same language and observing to a large extent the same social and political customs as they did when they were contemporary with the Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Jews. Western Asia has undergone repeatedly the shock of transformation as the varying fortunes of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and the hosts of Islam have risen or fallen. Through it all China has stood, firm in the fixidity of her national aspirations and preserving the homogeneous and continuous character of her race.

The cradle of the Chinese nation is placed by tradition on the banks of the Hoangho or Yellow river, near the northern part of its course, in what is now the province of Shen-Si. Here, about 2500 B. C., ruled the Emperor Hwang-ti, who is credited with having given the country its first regular institutions, the people having previously been nomads. On this site was formed the first group of communities which became, through gradual extension, the Chinese Empire. The germ of civilization radiated north, south, east and west, spreading from the banks of the Hoangho.

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Roughly grouping Chinese history into two periods, one of them may be described as extending from 2500 B. C. to 221 B. C., and the other from the latter date to the present time. The first was a period of formation of national consolidation into the unit which became the Empire. The other has been the period of development, of continuous though conservative evolution.

The two periods were separated by the reign of Emperor Tsin Chi Hwang-ti, a remarkable statesman and soldier who welded into a firm mass what had hitherto been a loosely connected band of states or provinces. Another important stage was the time of Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher, about 500 B. C. It was Confucius who constructed a system of philosophy systematizing the Chinese civilization and laying the foundation for the class of literati who have since been so potent in the history of the nation. The leaven of Confucius' work was vigorously active when Tsin Chi Hwang-ti succeeded to the throne in 221 B. C. Everything was ripe for the moulding of Chinese institutions into a definite political system. Tsin Chi Hwang-ti was the man for the work. He belonged to the dynasty of the Tsin, one of the eight ruling families among whom the government of the country was at that time divided. Tsin Chi Hwang-ti conquered all the other kingdoms and combined them under his own rule. These kingdoms, though then for the first time reduced to one political sway, had

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already been one in civilization. Their peoples were all Chinese, who felt a common bond of race and aspirations. Tsin Chi Hwang-ti went a step further and extended his dominion as far south as Tonkin. In his conquests he thus added to the empire some peoples who were not Chinese, but the influence of the superior civilization soon bound them firmly to the dominant race.

The same powerful emperor also drove back the Tartars, who constantly menaced China on the north. He it was who built the great wall, a tremendous engineering work, for the purpose of keeping off the Tartars. This huge structure, however, has never been an efficient means of defense, for since its erection China has been twice overrun by the Mongols and Manchus, both of whom have in turn been conquered by Chinese civilization even more powerfully than by force of arms.

Between Tsin Chi Hwang-ti and the powerful literary class founded by Confucius there sprang up a decided antagonism. His strong infusion of the military element in China was repugnant to them, as tending to subvert the permanent paternal and benevolent character which they desired the emperors to possess. The monarch, who never did things by halves, finally resorted to a measure of extreme violence. He ordered the destruction of all books, especially the ancient works so venerated by the literati and the people. The literati hid some of the books, and thus, while a considerable number of

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these invaluable works were preserved, the power of the literati was temporarily broken.

From 200 B. C. to our own time there have been a large number of dynasties in China, whose rule has occasionally been broken by periods of anarchy. The six principal dynasties have been as follows:

The Han, from 202 B. C. to 263 A. D.

The Tang, from 618 to 905.

The Sung, from 960 to 1119.

The Yuen or Mongols, from 1295 to 1341.

The King, from 1368 to 1573.

The Manchus, or Ta Tsing, from 1616 to the present time.

Between the Han and the Tang dynasties, and also between the Sung and the Yuen, it will be noticed, long intervals occurred. These were marked by a political breaking up of China but the centrifugal forces were not sufficient to keep the Kingdom divided and long periods of cohesion followed. This cohesion was brought about by the unity so firmly inculcated by Tsin Chi Hwang-ti and by the basic similarity of manners and beliefs, so systematically represented by the literati.

Hwei Ta, the second emperor of the Han dynasty, who reigned from 194 to 187 B. C., revoked the decree against books, thus restoring the literati to full power. The work of this dynasty was in conserving and strengthening the foundations of Chinese progress. One of its

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emperors, Wen Ti, realized the noble ideal of a ruler which Confucius had formed. He governed his people as a father and promoted agriculture and education by many wise laws. His character is shown by the following edict published on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun:

"I have always heard that heaven gives to the people it produces superiors to nourish and govern them. When these superiors, masters of other men, are without virtue and govern badly, Heaven, to make them enter the path of duty, sends or threatens them with calamities. In this eleventh month there has been an eclipse of the sun. What a warning that is to me! On high, the stars lose their light; below, our people are in misery. I recognize in all this my deficiency in virtue. Immediately on the publication of this declaration let there be an investigation with all possible attention throughout the empire as to what my faults are in order that I may be warned of them. To this end let the most enligthened, righteous and firm persons be sought for and presented to me. On my part, I recommend all those who are in charge to apply themselves more closely than ever to fulfilling their duties and in particular to retrench all useless expenditure, that the people may profit thereby."

This was an establishment of the right of memorializing the emperor, maintained with but slight intermissions to this day. It was afterward developed by the institution of a board or council of censors at Pekin, whose duty it is to warn the emperor. The observations of these censors are published in the Imperial Gazette and reproduced in the gazettes of the provinces.

Under Wu Tai, who reigned from 140 to 86 B. C., wars were undertaken which crushed the

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power of the surrounding nations that threatened China. This was the first step toward the extension of the empire later, when Tartary and Tibet were added to it. Wu Tai was deeply interested in Chinese history and gave a great impetus to the study of it. In his reign Sze-ma Tsien, who has been called "the Herodotus of China," compiled his great work, "Historical Records," which has been the basis of much modern research. Under the Han dynasty the Buddhist religion was introduced into China.

The Tang dynasty, which succeeded to the throne, was a succession of literary rulers under whom education and civilization made rapid progress. It was while this dynasty was in power that the Chinese system of civil service examinations for office was established.

Tai Tsung, who came to the throne in 627 A. D., was another emperor who strove to realize the ideal of Confucius. He decreed that from that time forth the emperors, before confirming sentence of death passed upon criminals, should fast three days. The punishment of death was to be inflicted only with the sanction of the monarch, except in cases of necessity for immediate repression. Tai Tsung wrote a book upon the art of governing.

"After I have given each day," he said, "the necessary time to transacting affairs of state, I make it my pleasure to project my views and thoughts over the histories of the past. I examine what

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were the manners of each dynasty, the good and bad examples of all the princes, the revolutions and their causes, and always do so with advantage."

To his son he gave this advice:

"My son, be just, be good; reign over yourself, have absolute sway over your passions and you shall reign without difficulty over the hearts of your subjects. Your good example, far more than your most rigorous orders, will make them fulfil their duties with all the more exactitude. Punish seldom and with moderation; but scatter benefits with full hands. Never put off until the morrow a favor which you can confer the same day. Postpone, on the other hand, chastisement until you have assured yourself that it is deserved."

The famous Chinese academy or college, the Hanlin, was established under the Tang dynasty. It is a body of the most cultivated and intelligent men in China and has a part in the educational, moral and political direction of the empire. The Tangs included warriors as well as statesmen and they made their power felt as far west as the Caspian sea.

The Tsung dynasty which next came into power, extended the system of competitive service examinations to the army.

The Mongol dynasty governed only 88 years and during this time it furnished eight emperors. It had conquered China at a time when the empire was divided. The Mongol rulers did not govern

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as aliens. They became Chinese themselves, maintaining the greatness of the empire and thoroughly identifying themselves with it. It was Kublai Khan, known in Chinese as Chitson or Hu-pi-lieh, who made Pekin the capital of the empire. Under his reign an additional religion was introduced in the empire in the form of Lamaism, an importation from Tibet. The later line of the Mongol dynasty deteriorated and the Chinese drove it out, the native dynasty of the Mings succeeding it. These reigned from 1368 to 1616, when the present dynasty of Manchus rose to the throne.

The first emperor of the Ming dynasty, known as Hung Wu, was born in 1837, the son of a laborer. He became a Buddhist monk but left the cloister to become a soldier and raised a great army, by means of which he expelled the Mongols and assumed the supreme power. He ruled wisely and well, promoting useful public works, founding plans for the relief of the aged and infirm, and extending the practices of religion. But, though the early rulers of the Mings measured up to a high standard, the later ones deteriorated through their long lease of power. The Manchus came upon the scene as conquerors and the last of the Chinese dynasties was established in 1616.

This dynasty is of particular interest to modern readers because it is now in control of China. On the whole it is a strong race which has contributed many able rulers, though it has often pursued a

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policy of selfishness in maintaining the Manchus as the nearest approach to a ruling class which the Chinese system permits. Especially have its soldiers been drawn from Manchuria, including the garrisons of the most important cities. The Manchu emperors have made a practice of taking only Manchus for wives, preserving a pure race-stock from China's northernmost province in control of the imperial power.

One of the best known of the Manchu emperors was Kanghi, who ruled from 1662 to 1723 and was contemporary with Louis XIV of France. He encouraged the Jesuit missionaries, who entered China for the first time during his reign. Kanghi was an enlightened ruler of decided ability, and under him Chinese prestige took a great step forward. He was both a man of peace and a man of war, and his political sagacity left a long-enduring impress upon the empire.

Under Emperor Keen Lung the subjection of Tartary was effected, and the submission of Tibet was definitely secured.

The last century of the Manchu dynasty has had as its most notable development the breaking down of the barriers against foreigners and the extension of foreign influence over the empire itself. It has also been marked by the Taeping rebellion. Each of these stages of Chinese history is treated of in a separate chapter.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Great Taeping Rebellion.

THE Taeping rebellion, which lasted from 1850 to 1864, was one of the greatest uprisings which ever occurred in China, bearing in this respect an analogy to the war of the Boxers. It spread to within less than a hundred miles of Pekin, overrunning the southern part of the empire and forcing the Manchu dynasty to fight for its life. The outbreak was suppressed by a young English major of engineers—Charles Gordon—who was thereafter to be known in history as "Chinese" Gordon. For this remarkable man's services China was profoundly grateful. The Pekin government offered him lands, titles and large sums of money, but with characteristic modesty he declined them all. He said: "I shall go back to England as poor as when I left it." And in truth he did. Years afterward he was to die in the Soudan, a victim of the Mahdists' fury in the last city on the upper banks of the Nile in which the English made a stand against them. The sad circumstances of his fate gave him a name—Gordon of Khartoum—which marks even a more notable period of his career than the time he spent in China.

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As in the Soudan, so in China, Gordon was pitted against an insurgent leader who claimed a supernatural religious character. This was Hung su Tseuen, or, as he is better known by the name he took afterward, Tien Wang, founder and leader of the Taepings. Tien Wang was born in 1813, the son of a small farmer near Canton, and was a hakka—a member of a race of tramps corresponding somewhat to our gypsies. The hakkas were much despised in China and so Tien Wang came from decidedly humble origin. But from an early age he showed great brightness of mind. He studied hard and attempted to pass the civil service examinations but failed to attain office owing, it was charged, to favoritism and prejudice.

Having heard a Protestant missionary preach in the streets of Canton, he listened carefully and took home with him a book called "Good Words for Exhorting the Age." This work consisted of sermons and essays by a Chinese convert. Tien Wang studied it carefully and imbibed many points of Christian doctrine which were afterward to form a part in the religious system which he taught to millions of followers. He also spent some time in a Buddhist monastery, studying that faith as carefully as his opportunities allowed.

During a period of 40 days it was declared that he had visions and received from heaven a command to destroy the idols which were worshipped in China. After the time had expired, he assumed

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a grave and superior demeanor and began to preach his doctrine. He said he had been divinely appointed to restore the world to the worship of the true God, that he was a son of God and that Jesus was his elder brother. He enjoined upon his converts to renounce the worship of Confucius and give up all idols. At intervals he fell into trances, in which, he said, he had interviews with God. The deity, he also said, had given him a seal and a sword. He proclaimed himself a saviour of China from sin and disease.

Travelling among the cities and towns of lower China, Tien Wang made many converts. Until 1850 his movement was purely religious, but in that year it assumed a political phase. The leader declared that he had a mission to take the throne of China and proposed to drive out the Manchus. He nominated five of his principal apostles or lieutenants as Wangs or soldier sub-kings, calling them northern, southern, eastern, western, and assistant Wangs respectively.

The name Taepings now became commonly applied to the followers of Tien Wang. Taeping was the name of a small town, in the province of Kuang-Si, where the rebel movement began. The word means "universal peace" and it was said that this was the name of the dynasty which Tien Wang proposed to found.

The movement was carried on in the name of religion and attracted considerable sympathy in

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America and Europe. Reports went forth that its leader had received his inspiration from the Christian missionaries and his cause was looked upon by thousands of Christians as a good one. In England prayers were even offered for his success. Later, when the Taepings began to commit many excesses, murdering and pillaging, this sympathy turned from them.

After overrunning a considerable section of the country at the outset, Tien Wang attacked the city of Kueiling. He was repulsed but this did not diminish the ardor of his followers, animated, as they were, by religious zeal. Sweeping across the vast province of Hu-nan, they attacked the provincial capital, Changsha, and met another repulse. Without artillery and unversed in the science of war, Tien Wang's followers were not equipped to attack cities under favorable circumstances. After besieging Changsha 80 days, the attempt to starve it out was given up and the Taepings swung northward again.

The imperial garrison of Yochau fled at their approach and in the arsenal there the Taepings made a highly important capture of arms and ammunition. Equipping themselves with these, they attacked the great city of Hankau, which surrendered without a blow. The city of Hanyang, which with Hankau and Yochau forms the greatest industrial beehive of central China, likewise

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surrendered and the Taepings felt that their cause was in truth favored of heaven.

In March, 1853, they advanced to the great city of Nanking, and after a faint-hearted resistance by the Manchu garrison it, too, surrendered. Here the seat of the Taeping power was established as a preliminary to the capture of Pekin, but as Pekin never fell into their hands they continued to use Nanking as the revolutionary capital. At the capture of Nanking many Manchus who surrendered were ruthlessly put to the sword, their number having been estimated by reliable chroniclers as high as 20,000.

Hienfung was on the throne at Pekin, and Tien Wang, as the leader of the Taepings, was now a formidable rival of his power. In 1853, a Taeping army of 80,000 men was collected at Nanking, and a large part of it was sent north to attack Pekin. Several fortified cities on the way successfully resisted attack, but, as had been the case in the south of China, the rebels easily overran the open country and attracted large numbers of converts among the people. Crossing the Hoangho they encountered a Manchu army in Lin Limming Pass and entered the province of Pechili in September, 1853. Such consternation had been created by their victory at Lin Limming that no town in the southern part of the province dared to oppose them. They finally reached Tsing, only 20 miles south of Tienstin and less than a hundred miles from the capital. This

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was the high-water mark of the Taeping rebellion. It never got any closer to Pekin.

The emperor was now fully alarmed. He sent in haste for Mongol levies, and a powerful chief, Sankolinsin, was to lead them. Had the Taepings pressed on promptly they might have captured Pekin without much hard fighting. But a fatal indecision seized them and they remained at Tsing until the Mongols had time to arrive in front of their position. Sankolinsin defeated them in the open field, and then they retired to their fortified camp at Tsing, sending to Nanking, their capital, for help. Relief came in time to save them from the fate which threatened them—utter extermination—but the reinforcements could not stem the tide. Sankolinsin kept pressing back the rebels until, in 1855, he had driven them completely from the provinces of Pechili and Shantung. Only a small part of the two armies which had been sent north to capture Pekin ever returned to Nanking.

Chung Wang, one of the Taeping leaders, succeded in breathing fresh life into the cause by several distinct successes against the imperial troops. At the same time, the movement spread to the coast cities. This was fatal to it, for on the coast it encountered the foreigners, who, being thus disturbed, resorted to measures which finally ended in the suppression of the rebellion.

Shanghai was threatened and the French, who were established there with the Americans and

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English, took the initiative by sending 400 marines and sailors to co-operate with the Chinese imperial troops. The English soon joined in and active measures were taken for the protection of Shanghai. Merchants in that city subscribed to a fund which was used in organizing and paying an army of defense, composed partly of Chinese and partly of white adventurers. This force was known as the "Ever Victorious Army" and was commanded at first by Frederick E. Ward, an American. He was a dashing and successful fighter, having the complete confidence of the Chinese and though his impetuosity led him into an occasional reverse, his career with the "Ever Victorious Army" was in the main truly victorious. Larger and larger grew the numbers of Taepings threatening Shanghai but Ward and his army saved the city in conjunction with occasional help from the French and English fleets. At length Ward was killed in battle and Burgevine, another American, succeeded him. Though Burgevine had undoubted talent he was considered dictatorial and irritable and did not gain the confidence of the Chinese and Europeans to the same extent as Ward had done. He was also inspired by excessive ambition and at one time proposed that he and a few others should establish themselves in part of China as an independent power. He was finally ousted from the command as a result of the constant friction between him and those who were back of the "Ever Victorious Army."

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A new commander was needed and Major Charles Gordon was chosen. He took the command in March, 1863, when the Pekin government itself had just emerged from a war with England and France in which it had come off second best. Gordon soon collected about 5,000 Chinese and white troops whom he inspired by his own high character, dauntless courage and stragetic ability. He drilled and disciplined his men—a heterogeneous body, at best—until they were fit to face any foe. It was a theory of Gordon, which is especially interesting at this time, that Chinese fought as well under their own officers as under Caucasians; all that was necessary was to drill and equip them properly. Never armed, but always carrying a little bamboo cane, which came to be known as his "magic wand of victory," Gordon led his men in almost every battle they fought. He seemed to them to be everywhere and yet always in front at the same time. Habitually exposing himself, he appeared immune to the dangers of battle.

In less than two years after he took command the power of the Taepings was broken. At first confining himself to the region about Shanghai, he finally undertook an aggressive campaign and city after city which the Taepings had ruled for years was won back for the imperial power. Li Hung Chang who had then just risen to prominence, was the Chinese official immediately in

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supervision and he had implicit confidence in Gordon, besides boundless admiration for the man. When the great city of Suchau was captured, Gordon stipulated that the lives of the Wangs who were in command there should be spared but they were nevertheless murdered. For this breach of faith he was inclined to blame Li Hung Chang and their former close friendship was broken.

The final stand of the Taeping power was made at Nanking, where Tien Wang, the leader of the movement, remained. A desperate resistance was made and when the outlook became hopeless Tien Wang committed suicide. The walls were undermined with gunpowder and through the breach made by the explosion the imperial army rushed to victory. So, on July 19, 1864, when the Taeping rebellion had raged 14 years, it was finally stamped out. Gordon, with his usual modesty, was inclined to deprecate his own share of the work. He said the victory would have been won without his assistance, though it might have been delayed. To this day the Chinese regard him almost in the light of a god of war.

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CHAPTER X.

Chinese Religion and Civilization.

CHINESE religious practices are an object of prime importance just now, as coming in contact with the wonderfully aggressive force of Christianity in a supreme clash that threatens, as far as the soil of China is concerned, to send one or the other to the wall. In order to comprehend clearly what these practices are, we must first take into consideration the fact that the system prevailing in China is essentially different from that in America or any of the leading countries of Europe. Here religion is practically confined to one faith, the different branches of which find their fountain heads in the one great source of inspiration, the Bible, the Christians accepting both the old and new testaments and the Jews only the old. In China, on the contrary, there is one basic system of fetishism which may be called the Chinese faith, and besides there are the widely differing faiths or cults of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism.

The combined result of these systems, as fused into a composite production by their influence on the people of China, is to teach a high order of

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morality in many things and a large number of beautiful and simple truths. Many a Chinaman will compare favorably in moral and philosophic elevation with the average type of a Christian or a Jew. There is, of course, a large class which falls below the standard, as is the case also among the Caucasian nations. It is noticeable that the moral degradation of which hasty foreign observers in China have written so much is chiefly to be found in the coast cities, where the natives come in contact with Europeans and Americans. Sailor morals—the cult of the trader—have presented examples to the Chinese whose influence has been almost wholly bad. The Christian missionaries have had a degree of success in overcoming this evil lesson, which the Chinese have wrongly taken as exemplifying the effects upon the westerners themselves of the faith sought to be impressed upon the whole people of the empire to the displacement of the sublime moral principles taught by the wisdom of their sages. In a word, the Chinese, while holding with the veneration of a race of ancestor-worshippers to the religion of their fathers, doubt the practical efficacy of the Christian theory to produce equally beneficial results. They would, perhaps, have embraced Christianity in much larger numbers had it been introduced to them by Asiatics. Taught by the hated westerners, whom they have come to regard as given over to the sordid motives of trade, diplomatic trickery and brutal war waged for selfish purposes, they regard

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it not only with suspicion, but with intense alarm.

We will consider now, first, the common base of Chinese religious practises, and second, the faiths or cults which have been grafted upon it. The base is a system of fetishism which was the original faith of the Chinese. It consists in veneration of the heavenly bodies, of the earth, of the sky, of natural phenomena, of ancestors, and of human beings who are regarded as having reached a high stage of perfection. Among the great altars at Pekin we find—considering them in the order of their importance—altars of the sky, of the earth, of prayer for obtaining the fruits of the earth in abundance, of the rising sun and of the moon at night. The sky is the preponderant deity. It is regarded as the powerful God whose action co-ordinates the activity of all the others. The chief town of each province, department and canton is officially required by the laws to have the following altars and temples: altar to the sky; altar to the earth; altars dedicated to the winds, to the clouds, to thunder, to rain; to the mountains and rivers; to the first tiller of the soil: temples dedicated to literature, to the succession of emperors who have governed China, to the constellation of the Great Bear, to the moats which surround and defend the town or city, to the evil spirit who causes sickness; to celebrated sages who have rendered distinguished services to their country; to men who

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were models of sincerity, fidelity, righteousness and filial piety; to maidens who were distinguished for eminent chastity and to married women who were renowned for their virtues and modesty. At Pekin the emperor and the mandarins, at certain periods of the year fixed by the rites, perform official acts of worship to the sky and the earth in places dedicated to such uses. A grand sacrifice to the sky is made at the epoch of the winter solstice by the emperor himself. On this occasion he offers grain which he has cultivated with his own hands.

Worship of ancestors, as a striking element in this fetishism which is the basis of China's religious systems, has influenced to a marked degree the whole life and civilization of the people. It has also made the Chinese the most notable examples of filial obedience and devotion to be found in the whole world. "Honor thy father and thy mother," is a command which practically all Chinese obey. In almost every house is a place consecrated to the tablets of ancestors. This place is a domestic temple, a sacred place, where periodical offerings are made to ancestors, where are told the important events that take place in the bosom of the family such as deaths, marriages and births. As a natural sequence extraordinary attention is bestowed upon the coffin. A Chinaman, while living, gives the making of his coffin as much attention as he bestows on the making of his will. Still another sequence is the horror of mutilation which the

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Chinese have. Beheading is dreaded as a mode of execution, because it mutilates.

Before taking up for consideration Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism as elements tending to develop in some cases, to modify in others, this central basis of Chinese religion, let us consider some of the effects which that basis has produced upon the people and the government. As worship of nature is its chief characteristic, it has caused in the Chinese a strong love for their homes, their native soil. Americans have observed how a Chinese immigrant laborer will toil far into the night in order that he may leave at his death a sufficient sum to transport his body to his native village for burial. The same family in many cases occupies the same home site for hundreds of years. There is also a deep love of flowers, of forests, of the towering mountains, of the great rivers which are the arteries of China's trade. Learned magistrates and grave councillors of state will invite each other to inspect their gardens of peonies and chrysanthemums. A Chinaman will fall in love with a single flower and care for it with minute devotion, carefully noting each stage in the development of its leaves and blossoms and feeling a real sorrow when it is gone.

Reverence for the family has led to the establishment of the governmental type upon that basis. According to Chinese thinkers, the emperor is the father and mother of his people. His essential

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character is paternal. The influence of this idea has been felt strongly throughout the ages by the emperors themselves and its effect has been good. It acts as a check on acts of arbitrariness and absolutism. From this conception arises the marked tendency of the emperors to develop the industrial life of the people as a father providing for the temporal wants of his family. How well this has worked out we can see in China to-day. What country of equal size in Europe, or even America, could support a population so vast without tremendous economic crises, leading perhaps to frequent changes in the government? China is naturally fertile and has one of the most highly favored climates in the world. A great system of public works, including works of irrigation, has tended to extract from this fortunate situation the utmost good for the people. Commercial and industrial oppressors, where they have sought to raise their heads, have been sternly put down. The regulation of agriculture and markets is a function of the state.

A point of considerable interest to American readers just now is that such an institution as an industrial trust does not exist in China. Nowhere else in the world is material production so largely distributed in the control of the masses of the people. A missionary has written:

"As in this Kingdom there is not a useless foot of land, so neither is there a man or woman, young, old, halt, maimed, deaf or blind, who is without the means of making a living,

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without an art or occupation of some kind. The Chinese have a common saying 'In the Kingdom of China nothing is thrown away.' However worthless or useless a thing may appear, a use is found for it, a profit of some sort made out of it. For instance, in Pekin alone there are more than a thousand families whose sole means of livelihood consists in selling matches. There are at least as many who live by raking up, in the streets, and among sweepings, rags of silk stuffs, cotton or hemp fabric, bits of paper and such things, which they wash, renovate and then sell to others, who put the fragments to use in a variety of ways and make a profit."

Chinese industry, on the whole, is essentially petty industry. There is little employment of machinery. Large families manage to exist on but a fraction of an acre, producing practically everything they need.

We have considered this industrial condition as a direct outgrowth of the paternal system of government, which is due to ancestor worship as a leading element in the primary religion of the people. The usual results of fetishism are tempered by the literary and scientific development of the Chinese which leads them to understand the ordinary processes of nature. Cruel practices like those of barbarian fetishists are practically unknown in Chinese religion. The aim is the elevation and development of the individual by the same synthetic and consistent processes as are observed in the phenomena of nature. The lower classes are necessarily subject to the fear of the wrath of their nature-gods more than those further

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advanced in culture, but no class is absolutely free from it. Great droughts, floods and earthquakes are considered by all as denoting the anger of the gods and sacrifices are made in the temples to appease the offended deities.

Though the family is the basis of religion and the government, the conjugal relation is a weak point in it, not nearly approaching the purity of the paternal, maternal and filial ties in China. In this the Chinese are like other nations which have failed to feel what is essentially a modern development—the elevation of woman through the instrumentality of Christianity. True, the women of China occupy a place far from that of menials and their influence over their sons and daughters is almost always great. But they still fall far below that state of popular estimation in which Christianity has taught the nations of the western world to regard the weaker sex.

The practice of having only one wife has been imperfectly attained in China. Though the law allows only one legitimate wife, it sanctions a regular concubinage. This legal concubinage is confined to those who are rich, or at least sufficiently well off to support more than one wife. Even among the wealthy it is far from being practiced as extensively as the law would allow. Instances of moral degradation are of course found among the Chinese in plenty, just as they are found in America and Europe. Especially is this the case, as previously

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stated, in the coast cities where they have come in contact with foreigners. The dwelling of the two races in the same city appears in many instances to have worked a degradation to both.

Taoism as the first great modifying cause of the basic Chinese religion, comes now to be considered. This term is derived from the word *Tao*, meaning reason, and the members of the cult call themselves *Tao-shi*, or followers of reason. Taoism is the philosophy of Lao-Tsze, one of the leading thinkers whom China has produced.

Lao-Tsze was born in the Kingdom of Tsu, now the provinces of Hu-peh and Hu-nan, in 604 B. C., 54 years before Confucius, from whose philosophy his own system is notably different. The teaching of Lao-Tsze may be summed up in the supreme principle that he undertook by means of reason to explain everything. In his own words he tells the germ of his belief as follows:

"Before the chaos which preceded the birth of heaven and earth a single being existed, immovable and always acting but never altering. It may be regarded as the mother of the universe. I know not its name but I designate it by the term Reason. Reason is the inmost essence of all things. It has neither beginning nor end. The universe has an end, but this Reason has not. Unchangeable before the birth of the universe, it was nameless and ever-existing. Reason is the only name the holy man can give it. He also calls it spirit, because there is no place in which it is and no place in which it is not. He calls it truth, because there is nothing false in it; principle, by way of contrast to what is produced or secondary. This being is truly one; it sustains heaven and earth, and it itself

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has no qualities cognizable by the senses. It is pure as regards its substance; it is reason in respect to the order in which it is established; it is nature in relation to the force which it has given to man and which is in him; it is spirit as to its mode of action without bound and without end."

A striking feature in the philosophy of Lao-Tsze is its contempt for the past, in which characteristic it is markedly different from Confucius and from the spirit of the basic Chinese religion. Confucius quotes the ancients often; Lao-Tsze, never.

Lao-Tsze has been called the Pythagoras of China. His advent was at a time when many of his countrymen were sunk in a state of moral indifference and laxity in the practices of religion. With the zeal of a reformer he set himself to work to repair the evils of the day and to hold a higher ideal of duty before the Chinese. His philosophy was rather that of theory than of practice and to-day it occupies the smallest part in the religious life of China.

Not so with Confucius, who is commonly accorded the rank of one of the greatest sages of all time. He it was who arranged the basic Chinese religion into an orderly and comprehensive system which was to serve as a creed for the people to this day. When he was born in 551 B. C., in what is now the province of Shantung, China was a group of petty kingdoms or provinces acknowledging a sort of subordination, more nominal than real, to the central Chow dynasty. The germ of a common civilization existed, but it was not yet coördinated in

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practical form. The needed bond of union and assimilation was a moral doctrine which would serve for all and be woven around the practices of the early Chinese faith.

The father of Confucius was the governor of Tsow, a town of minor rank. The sage lost his father early and was brought up under the careful and intelligent tutelage of his mother. Educated with great pains, he showed from childhood a combination of ability, humility and devotedness which stamped him as one ranking far above his fellows. When 17 years old he accepted, at the desire of his mother, a petty official appointment, being made inspector of the grain and provision market. Here he showed that constant and indefatigable concern for the administration of public office as a great moral trust, which was the guiding principle of his career and to a large extent of his philosophy. When 19 years old he married, and soon afterward, at the age of 21, he was promoted in the public service, being made inspector general of fields and flocks, with full power to institute reforms in his department. His mother died when he was 24 years old, and when his official career was just beginning to blossom.

In conformity with the old customs, then more honored in the breach than the observance, he gave up his promising career in public life and spent three years in a seclusion which he utilized in a wonderful way. It was during this seclusion that

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he conceived his great project of reform. He evolved his plan of work and delved deep in earnest study of Chinese antiquity, of political and moral questions and in meditation on the principles of complete moral development. When his period of mourning and seclusion expired, he made a series of journeys into the kingdoms of China along the course of the Yellow river, carefully putting a finishing touch on his studies by observation of men and things. For 20 years he travelled about, converting disciples to his doctrine, being consulted by kings and ministers and urging upon rulers the need of governing their subjects by paternal, moral and pacific means. His commanding intellect, no less than his purity and zeal, made a profound impression.

Returning to his native state, the Duke of Lu persuaded him to accept again employment in the public service. When he was 50 years old, he was promoted to the important office of minister of civil and criminal justice, where he exemplified that combination of political life with the study and practice of moral philosophy which he so ardently taught. Besides his own remarkably beneficent work in this respect, a record of which Chinese historians have carefully preserved, his disciples were soon occupying important political posts in other parts of China, while some of them continued to conduct an active propaganda. When the Duke of Lu, his protector and friend, died, Confucius again withdrew from

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public life and, accompanied by some of his disciples, resumed his travels, winning many converts to his doctrines. At the age of 66 years his wife died; his son soon followed, and lastly his favorite disciple Yen Hwei expired. These events saddened the great reformer's life in its closing years. Before his death he called together his leading disciples and gave them his last admonitions as regards the spirit of his teachings and the methods of their application. His sense of humility burdened him with a feeling that he had accomplished little good in the world compared to his opportunities. "I have not been successful," he said. "Will any one be found, after my death, willing to take upon himself this painful task?"

In 479 B. C., this wonderful man died. He had lived 72 years and was to exercise upon China to remote generations an influence greater than that of any other of her sons.

Confucius had merely begun the work. His disciples spread their propaganda after his death and it increased enormously. Under Emperor Kaotsou, the founder of the Han dynasty, who reigned from 202 to 194 B. C., the worship of Confucius was introduced as that of a sage. This was notwithstanding the fact that he had not claimed to be divine, but sought his own self-development in common with the development of moral standards in other men. Soon temples to Confucius were erected in all the principal cities of China. Under the Han dynasty

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he was named Kung or Duke; the Tang dynasty elevated him to the position of "First Saint" and afterward "Preacher-Prince," his statue being clothed in royal garments and a crown being put on its head. The Ming dynasty named him "the most holy, the wisest and the most virtuous of the founders of men."

The four principal works called Confucian are the Hiao King, or Classic of Filial Piety, the Ta Hio, or Great Lore, the Chung Yung or the Constant Mean, and the Lun Yu or Philosophic Discourses. Parts of these he wrote and others include his sayings, but the most of the Confucian works were drawn up by his disciples.

The Ta Hio consists of an argument ascribed to Confucius and an explanation given by Tseng Tsze, one of his disciples. In this book Confucius tells of the problem of moral perfection in this way:

"The Great Lore treats of the way to make bright virtue brighter, to win the people's love and to stay in the utmost goodness. From the emperor down to the common folk there is one duty for all—to make the regulation of their conduct the first concern."

This is a brief statement of the dogma that the moral perfection of each individual is the end to be aimed at. Confucius' idea of how to carry it out was thus stated:

"The first thing is to know your aim and then form a resolve; your resolve being formed, be steadfast in it; being steadfast, you will have peace of mind; having peace of mind, you can then meditate; meditating, you can attain your aim."

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Tseng Tsze, the disciple, seeks to work out these ideas and connect them with the early history of China so as to consolidate the political and moral system of the empire. He says in dealing with the lessons of one of the emperors:

"How profound was King Wan's endeavor, unwearied and ardent, to attain the highest goodness! As a sovereign, his aim was to be beneficent; as a subject, his aim was to be reverential; as a son, his aim was to be filial; as a father, his aim was loving kindness; in his intercourse with statesmen, his guiding aim was good faith."

What a lesson for rulers of the present day!

In the Chung Yung or Constancy of the Mean, the precise conception of the state of perfection as Confucius understood it is set forth in definite terms. Here is an extract from it:

"It is only the sage of wisest ken who can fully understand and develop his own nature; being able fully to understand and develop his own nature, he can therefore fully understand and develop the nature of others; being able fully to understand and develop the natures of other men, he can therefore fully understand and develop the nature of things; being able fully to understand and develop the nature of things, he can therefore co-operate with heaven and earth in their transforming and sustaining operations; being able to co-operate with heaven and earth in their transforming and sustaining operations, he can therefore constitute himself with heaven and earth a trinity. Next to the perfect sage comes he who by culture rectifies his nature flawed by some ingrained bias."

Confucius, full of the spirit of worship of the sky and earth taught by the venerable Chinese religion,

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borrowed from the laws of the celestial bodies that type of order and regularity which he sought to attain in human life. He said:

"There are five universal ways or lines of duty and three means by which to pursue them; to wit—as between lord and vassal, as between father and son, as between husband and wife, as between older and younger brother, as associating with friends —these five are the universal ways and duties. Knowledge, humanity, courage; these are the three universal virtues; and it is by their unity that the duties are carried into practice."

Confucius not only framed a moral system, based on conscience and a sense of duty, but he rendered another service by editing the ancient literary monuments of Chinese civilization. These have become the sacred books of China: the Yih King, or Book of Changes; the Shu King, or Book of Historical Documents; the Shih King, or Book of Poetry; and the Li Ki, or Record of Rites. He added to these a fifth book from his own pen—the Chun Chu, or Spring and Autumn, containing the annals of his native State of Lu.

Thus we see that Confucius, while a reformer, did not seek reform by radical changes or the overthrow of the venerated past. He took what was good in the past and consolidated it into a great system for the future. As a philosopher and a literary man, he was a worthy type upon which to found the non-hereditary class of literati, who have played such an important part in the history of China.

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Among the philosophers who advanced along the path which Confucius opened was Meng-tsze, better known to western peoples as Mencius. In Chinese estimation he ranks next to Confucius. He was born about the beginning of the fourth century, B. C., in what is now the province of Shantung, and died in 314 B. C., at a great age. Besides developing in many ways the doctrine of his chief, he formulated the condition under which the overthrow of the imperial family, the central element of Chinese unity, becomes a necessity. Mencius lays it down that the ruling house must be gotten rid of when it no longer fulfils its duty in a tolerable way. When this stage arrives, the emperor ceases to be the sovereign, the son of the sky, receiving his imperial mandate from heaven. The mandate must be withdrawn from him by a popular revolution if necessary. When the emperor ceases to govern wisely, it is a sign that heaven's favor has been taken from him and he is no longer entitled to rule. This spirit, it will be observed, is far removed from the absolute submission to hereditary monarchs which has been a characteristic of many European nations.

Buddhism and Mohammedanism, the two other religions which have been grafted on the original Chinese system, have not affected it markedly, though they have gained millions of adherents in China. As two of the world's best known and most widely observed faiths, which are not peculiar to China,

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they need no description here. Buddhism was introduced into the empire from India under the Han dynasty in 65 B. C. Many emperors have embraced its teachings and have fostered it. The literati, who as a class represent China's culture and the truest teachings of her civilization, have been prone, however, to despise it. Some mandarins, though Buddhists, will nevertheless perform the rites of the Chinese religion. They do not find the two incompatible. At times some of the emperors have been violently incensed against this faith and have suppressed a great number of its monasteries and convents.

Mohammedanism spread into China from Arabia, soon after the death of its founder. It has taken deep root in some sections of the empire and its adherents, inspired with a disregard of death in consequence of its prophet's teachings, have furnished some of China's best soldiers. Like Christianity, however, it is a religion totally apart from the original Chinese faith and has existed separately. It has encountered little persecution from the emperors.

Having now considered the religions of China, which are the principal foundations of its civilization, we will next consider that civilization as a whole. It is, as we have already seen, markedly different type from the civilizations of the west. Education is widely diffused and the cultured Chinaman, with his mind stored with the lore of his sages, his

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intellect highly trained to Chinese methods of thinking, and his courtesy and politeness, which form such a contrast to the brusqueness of the west's manners, is indeed an object for admiration. The culture of the Chinaman, however, aims chiefly at the development and philosophy of morals and manners, not at that of abstract knowledge like the culture of the west. He has literature, science, music and art of a kind, but it is not the western kind. Reality is the most noticeable characteristic of his literary works. Though he has poetry, romances and dramas, they portray real life, and grand ideal works, like those of Homer, Dante and Milton, have never been produced by the Chinese. There are histories in plenty, but they relate to China alone or, at most, to Asia. No other country in the world has such a complete mass of historical data relating to itself and reaching back continuously into dark antiquity. Geography, except as relating to China, was scarcely known until a recent time and was not wanted. Mathematics and all other scientific branches are in an elementary state. What science the Chinese have comes to them chiefly from the Hindoos, the Mussulmans, and the Christians. Astronomy reached a comparatively high state of development among them at an early date and then remained almost stationary. They learned how to calculate the periodicity of solar eclipses and other phenomena but developed no scientific theory to account for them. Owing to their nature-worship they were prone to turn to religion for an explana-

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tion of all things. High art and an advanced development of music do not exist in China, though both are practiced in the lower stages. The culture of the Chinese is almost devoid of imagination. They have no myths, none of the pleasing stories of the supernatural with which western nations have delighted themselves. Neither Confucius, Mencius nor their successors had recourse to the supernatural to support their teachings.

The invention of printing was in wide use in China long before the time of Guttenberg, and when western nations were still reading their books from manuscripts. In 931 A. D. printing was invented by the minister Fung Tao. Movable types were not employed. The whole book was engraved on wooden blocks and then printed, the process used being economical. In the eleventh century the Chinese advanced to the invention of movable types, but these were not extensively used. In China the veneration for the antique leads to reprinting the same books over and over again, while the west is given to the production of works that have but a temporary character. The same blocks could therefore be used for many successive editions of a book until they became worn, and then they could be restored by a cheap and simple process. It should be noted that publishing can be done in China much more cheaply than in America or Europe. But there was another reason why the Chinese preferred their own mode of block printing. The nature of their script is far different from ours. With us the

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elementary sounds are represented by letters, and all words are built up by a combination of these. In China, on the contrary, writing is not phonetic. Each Chinese written sign or character expresses a syllable, a word, or even a whole sentence or idea. Hence the characters are extremely numerous, and exceed thirty thousand in all. New characters are constantly being invented to keep pace with the progress of knowledge and civilization. So the Chinese for centuries felt no need of movable types, as their own mode was more economical and convenient. In the last half-century the use of the movable kind has become wider in China, owing to the influence of the missionaries, and it is being constantly extended.

Far antedating the use of type was the invention of paper and ink, made in the reign of Tsin Chi Hwang-ti, which covered the period from 221 to 209 B. C. The improvement of the pencil or writing brush was made by one of that monarch's generals, Meng Tien. Previously books had been written by graving upon bamboo slips, and in rare occasions they had been graven on stone. These tedious processes were done away with by writing upon paper with the brush and ink. The manufacture of paper became one of the leading industries of China.

A striking characteristic of Chinese civilization is the absence of caste and the caste spirit. In this respect it approaches more nearly to democracy than some countries which have made greater pretensions to free institutions. All Chinamen are born on an

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equality. The highest places in the state are open to all. Under the system of civil service examinations the merit test is applied in the vast majority of appointments to public office. Sons of laborers have swayed the destinies of the empire; daughters of laborers have become the consorts of its emperors and their children have succeeded to the throne. Even the imperial family is not strictly a hereditary aristocracy. The emperors, as we have already seen, are deposed when they govern badly, the right of revolution being exerted by the people. The monarch's eldest son does not necessarily succeed him—a fact directly opposed to the spirit of caste. Each emperor selects his heir from the members of his family and is absolutely unrestricted as to which of them he shall choose.

Among the results of the absence of caste are the marvellous development of industrial activity and respect for private property—both directly proceeding from the feeling that the rights of all are on a legal equality, that there is no bar to effort and no right by one class to exploit another. The notion that the soil belongs to the monarch or the feudal chief has found no lodging place in the mind of the Chinaman. The freedom of transmitting private property is subject to no law of primogeniture or entail.

Agriculture is the main end of this peaceful people and they have become the most cheerfully industrious, and the wealthiest nation in Asia. The cultivation of cereals, and, above all, rice is the main branch of agriculture. Gardening has been

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developed to unrivalled perfection. The cultivation of tea and bamboo is also an immense source of wealth. A great variety in the bamboo has been attained by skill and patience. Different kinds in size and height, in the color of the wood, the distance of the knots, in the substance and thickness of the leaves and branches are produced by care and systematic attention. The young sprouts are used as a part of China's food supply, which is mainly vegetable. Pigs and fowls are the chief articles of animal food though beef, mutton and venison are gotten from Tartary. The implements of agriculture are simple. Such a thing as the great wheat farms in the western part of the United States, where everything is done by machinery, is unknown. The silk industry has great importance and dates from remote antiquity. Minerals abound. It is this wealth of China, developed from the fertility of the soil by the industry of the people, that is exciting the cupidity of western nations.

China needs no foreign commerce, for her internal commerce has been carefully nourished on an enormous scale. This trade is chiefly carried on by water. The whole country is a huge network of rivers and canals, on which navigation is constant. The government has fostered the development of channels of communication among the provinces and thus, even without the much-vaunted railroad, trade and communication in China proceed at a tremendous pace.

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CHAPTER XI.

How China is Governed.

THE theory of the Chinese Government is "equal and exact justice to all, with special privileges to none." In practice these beneficent purposes are more or less thwarted by the weaknesses of human nature, from which even Western critics are not wholly free. One of the conditions which hampers the system is the fact that low salaries are paid to many of the officials and a still larger number are not paid at all. This is a result of the efforts to reduce the tax burdens of the people to the lowest possible limit, a subject which for countless centuries has occupied the attention of the emperors and the literati. Some officials who receive no pay or very little, yielding to natural but far from commendable impulses, make a practice of receiving bribes or "tips." From this the inference may be drawn, perhaps, that too much public economy is not a good thing. What is taken in through the spigot may come out at the bung.

In order to get a just estimate of China's government, we must first consider what it aims at, secondly what results it produces and thirdly what are the natural defects it encounters in the way of producing

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a perfect administration. Some foreigners, full of prejudice against the Chinese race, have scoffed at the system, but the great majority of careful investigators have found in it, as far as laws can make it, an admirable system which is peculiarly well adapted to the character of the Chinese. It will not do to accept at face value the opinion of every foreigner who has criticised the Chinese government in unsparing terms. The very extremes of some of the criticisms are a conclusive argument against their fairness. We have some millions of people in our own country who have the idea that the government of the United States is about as near perfection as the limitations and fickleness of human nature will permit. Yet subjects of European monarchies who have travelled on this side of the water go home and scoff at us.

Though the central figure of the Chinese governmental system is the emperor, who is supposed to derive autocratic power from heaven, he is so surrounded by checks and balances that he cannot exercise this power like a despot. Besides the history and traditions of his office fix so definitely its benevolent character that it may almost be said he dare not be a despot. In theory, the emperor as we have previously seen, is the "father and mother of his people." His character as an official is essentially paternal, and not tyrannical or oppressive. Though there is no congress or parliament in China or anything that may be called a system of representative

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institutions, the emperor is checked by the splendid moral code of Confucius, which is the accepted chart of his duties, and by the board of censors at Pekin, whose official function it is to criticise the acts of the sovereign and who are unsparing in their comments. They are always comparing the acts of to-day with the beneficent ones of the past and are vigilant in their observations of everything the emperor says and does. Another institution peculiar to China, and which in itself is a great check on the impulses of an unworthy sovereign, is the board of historiographers of the Hanlin college, the institution which embraces the empire's most learned men. This board is composed of 22 members, who are constantly with the emperor to record his words and acts. What they write is a complete secret so long as the same dynasty continues to reign. Thus the official history of the Manchu sovereigns, who have ruled from 1616 A. D. to the present time, will only be known when their line has ceased to occupy the throne. The duty of publishing it will then become a sacred charge upon their successors. The emperors from time immemorial have been given to studying and quoting the precedents of the past and their records breathe a spirit of benevolence to their subjects. It gives them pause to reflect that every important word they utter is to pass into the history of their country and that the estimation in which they will be held by future generations will be thus decided.

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In consequence of these checks on the emperors, we find in all of China's long history extremely few cases of a monarch's evil whims bringing calamity on any large section of his subjects. The emperors have fairly faced the many and arduous problems with which they have been confronted. They have been hard workers, arising early and listening patiently to the recitals of the complaints and appeals of their people. Everything at the palace is done in an orderly manner and in strict accordance with what the experience of the past has shown to be practical and efficacious. The humblest criminal in China is entitled by law to receive at the hands of the judges as much consideration as an accused official of the highest class until his sentence is finally passed upon by the emperor.

Some of the monarchs, in the course of ages, have developed a tyrannical and cruel tendency. This has generally been confined to the palace itself and the mass of the people has not been permitted to suffer by it. As to the palace, a strict and exacting system of official discipline is maintained and degradations among employes of the government often occur. It is seldom that officials have been punished by death, except in cases of peculation or other grave offense.

Next in importance to the emperor in the governmental system of China are the two inner cabinets and a number of subsidiary boards which conduct distinct departments of the state. The cabinets are

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the Grand Secretariat or Niu Koh, and the General Council or Kiun Ki Chu. The secretariat is composed of four secretaries and two assistants. The senior grand secretary has nearly always been a Manchu since the present dynasty came to the throne and Li Hung Chang had the honor of being the first official from China proper appointed to that post. Ten learned men, who are usually doctors of the Hanlin College, assist the secretaries. The full staff numbers fully 200 officials. The secretaries are an advisory board to the emperor and are in close contact with him. They submit to him great numbers of papers which have been transmitted to them and receive the instructions upon the basis of which the official edicts are drawn up. They also keep the 25 imperial seals, each of which is used for a different purpose.

The General Council, the second of these bodies constituting the central administration, is a board in which the heads of departments can be drawn together for consultation whenever the emperor desires. Under ordinary circumstances, when consultations among a large number of officials are not deemed necessary, it consists of four members. This council frames edicts, and it enjoys the right of audience with the emperor. It has a room in the Forbidden Palace, from which outsiders are rigidly barred, and usually meets at five o'clock in the morning.

Next in rank below these two central advisory bodies are six administrative boards—the civil office,

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the boards of revenue, of rites, of war, of punishment, and of public works. Each of these boards has two presidents and four vice-presidents, with a large staff of under-officials, who systematize the work well. A few words of description will answer for the functions of the different boards.

The civil office has control over the mandarins in regard to pay, promotion and the assignment of work. It also distributes rewards.

The board of revenue receives the contributions of the provinces and disburses the payments of the central administration. To it is also assigned the duty of selecting the Manchu maidens who are admitted to the imperial harem.

The board of rites is an important one owing to the ceremonious manner of conducting Chinese official business. It controls all these ceremonies and rituals, having both religious and secular authority. The ceremonies are regulated in a general way by the Book of Rites, a ponderous work in fourteen volumes.

The board of war has only partial authority over the army and navy. It does not control the Banner army of Manchus and Mongols or the garrison of Pekin, which are distinct organizations.

The board of punishment is practically a court of appeal. Associated with the board of censors and a court of revision, called the Tali Sz', it forms a supreme court for trying capital offenses.

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At a fixed period of the year these three bodies meet, with six minor courts, thus forming the complete judicial bench of Pekin, for the purpose of revising punishments ordered in the provinces before laying them before the emperor for his sanction. The literature of the Chinese inculcates in marked degree a love of justice and there is an elaborate system of imposing checks upon official tyranny or error.

The board of works is an office of public works and superintends the transportation system throughout the empire. It also coins money and has some minor functions.

The list of boards is now finished, but there are other important public bodies at Pekin which exercise potent influence. Among these the chief in importance just now is the Tsung-li-yamen, or Chinese foreign office. It was established in 1861, the year when the first foreign diplomat—Mr. Frederick Bruce, from the Court of St. James—was admitted to official residence at Pekin. Its duty is the transaction of business with the foreign ministers at the capital. The celebrated Prince Kung was its founder. This board, though possessing nominally little authority, being compelled to submit important questions to the emperor, nevertheless exercises considerable power in its advisory capacity.

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It is computed that there are no fewer than 20,000 officials of various grades connected with the boards and central offices at Pekin. A red book, which is issued periodically, contains their names. They work hard and in this respect set an excellent example to the public officials of other countries. The organization of this elaborate system of bureaucracy, which is needed to conduct the business of a vast empire, has been pronounced admirable by many competent critics. It has sometimes been criticised by foreigners for corruption and among its many members a degree of corruption undoubtedly exists. The foreigners, however, have often been the leaders in holding out the temptation of a bribe.

The provincial administration of China is also carefully organized and here we come in contact with the powerful viceroys, or governors of provinces. To a large degree they are intrusted with almost sovereign functions, though they must make frequent and regular reports to Pekin. China is divided into 19 provinces, only a few of which enjoy the distinction of being each ruled by a separate viceroy. In most cases two provinces are combined in one viceroyalty.

The paid provincial administration is far too weak in numbers, though it is assisted by a large number of unpaid officials. Only about 2000 officials in all the provinces of China receive salaries from the

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government. The others are largely composed of candidates for the civil service examinations who hope ultimately to get on the public payroll. It is this class of minor officials against whom the charge of bribery is most freely laid, and that they accept fees which are not authorized by law is well known. Sometimes this degenerates into blackmail. The government could apply the remedy by paying these officials enough to sustain life, but it hesitates to increase the taxes and the evil goes on.

Another peculiar fact here comes in—China has almost no police. The unpaid runners and hangers-on of the mandarins make arrests in the provinces and the Banner army in Pekin exercises police functions to a limited extent. Were not the Chinese in ordinary times among the most peaceful and law abiding people in the world, great disorders would prevail constantly among them. This lack of a police system has afforded a favorable opportunity for the development of many secret societies, including the Boxers, who were allowed to flourish until they had become so strong that the army could not cope with them.

The common forms of punishment in China are whipping and the wearing of the cangue, a heavy wooden case into an aperture of which the head of the criminal is thrust. The death penalty is inflicted in several thousand cases each year, but these, we have already seen, are limited in number by the

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clemency of the sovereign and the wide extension of the right of appeal. Decapitation and the "slow and painful process," which means being hacked to pieces, are the usual forms of capital punishment. In some cases it is permitted for a criminal condemned to death to hire a substitute. Such substitutes are easily found, it being considered a privilege by many Chinamen thus to sacrifice themselves that they may provide a considerable sum of money for their parents.

The total revenue of China is estimated on an average at from $300,000,000 to $500,000,000; an extremely small sum, comparatively, for a nation of 400,000,000 people. Part of this is collected in money and the rest in grain. A large portion of it is used in the administration of the provinces, and the remainiug sum is forwarded to Pekin. The revenue derived from foreign customs under the supervision of Sir Robert Hart, an Englishman who has performed that duty for the Chinese government many years, forms a large part of the total.

In her financial affairs China has shown a creditable contrast to Japan. She has incurred few permanent debts for the sake of temporary gain. Japan, on the other hand, has borrowed money until her debt is several times as great as her whole revenue. At last she has reached a point where it is difficult for her to raise any more, and this is one of her weak points in the game with Russia.

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We have seen that the theory of China's government is the benefit of the people, to be secured by benevolent laws and equal justice. It has fallen short of this, as every nation must do, but the extent of its success in many respects is really wonderful when compared with the records of the modern nations. China's chief disadvantage is official corruption, which can only be remedied efficaciously by the payment of adequate salaries to all her officials.

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